

THE FEMALE EMIGRANTS OF THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION
AND THEIR ROLE IN WAKEFIELD'S THEORY OF
'SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION'

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ABSTRACT

THE FEMALE EMIGRANTS OF THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION AND WAKEFIELD'S THEORY OF COLONIZATION

This study identifies and investigates the female emigrants who came to Canterbury on board ships chartered by the Canterbury Association between 1850 and 1853. Particular emphasis is given to the ways in which these women conformed to Wakefield's notion of an 'ideal' female emigrant. In order that his scheme be translated into reality as faithfully as possible, Wakefield set forth his ideas regarding emigrant selection, and also the preferred personal qualities and characteristics of female emigrants. This study analyzes, and assesses the validity of Wakefield's theory in terms of the selection of female emigrants. The official Canterbury Association passenger lists and the writings of Edward Gibbon Wakefield are the primary source materials on which this study is based.

Chapter One introduces Wakefieldian theory and examines its position relative to the other theories and practices of colonization which had been made by the British government before 1830. A discussion of contemporary British society analyzes the religious, political, economic and social climate which induced Wakefield to view a reformed colonial policy as the best means of reducing the 'excessive competition', which he

believed to be the chief cause of heightened social tensions. The main economic and social points of 'systematic colonization' are presented, including Wakefield's intention of transplanting to the colonies the socio-sexual hierarchy which existed in England. In Chapter Two, attention is given to contemporary British thought on women and society. A more specific discussion of Wakefield's attitudes to women is presented, as well as his perception of their role during the emigration and colonization process. Chapter Three examines the attempt by the Canterbury Association to translate Wakefield's ideas and goals regarding female emigrants into reality. The difficulties encountered in this attempt, and the resultant deviations from Wakefieldian theory are also discussed. Chapter Four discusses the nature and characteristics of the group of female emigrants who traveled on Canterbury Association ships. The degree of conformity between these women and the Wakefieldian ideal is assessed. In Chapter Five, the accounts of three women who traveled to Canterbury on board the Charlotte Jane are presented and analyzed in terms of Wakefieldian theory and the Canterbury Association's emigrant regulations. Finally, a detailed assessment is made of the validity of those aspects of Wakefieldian theory which deal with the issue of female emigration and colonization.

INTRODUCTION

Over one hundred and forty years after the Canterbury Association attempted to translate Edward Gibbon Wakefield's ideas about 'systemmatic colonization' into reality on the Canterbury plains, there is still a great void in the record which fails to provide any substantial information on those women who were the 'pioneer mothers' of the province. The assessment of the larger meaning of the settlement process in New Zealand and its various regions has been heavily influenced by views that seem relevant to aims and concerns that have customarily been associated more with men than women. Like the modern day emphasis which observers place on the political and economic features of today's society, historians of the Canterbury Association have concentrated their discussions on the political and economic features of the settlement rather than on the establishment of homes and families, and other aspects more usually related to the sphere of feminine activity.

Because the role of females in early Canterbury was seen as secondary to that of males, the representation of female roles in the emigration and colonization process has lacked any depth and those women who did not fit into the idealized stereotype of a 'proper' emigrant have been essentially forgotten. While much has been written about

the Canterbury settlement and its ideological patron, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, relatively little is known about the female emigrants who traveled to Canterbury under the aegis of the Canterbury Association. A very limited amount of information concerning these women has created a clouded and unbalanced image of their role in the settlement. There is little understanding of their character as a group or of their role in the colonization process, either as that process was ideally perceived by Wakefield or as it actually unfolded under the control of the Canterbury Association.¹

The idealized images of pioneer women which Wakefield created have, to a degree, survived to the present despite the Canterbury Association's failure to construct a truly Wakefieldian settlement in terms of social composition. The strength of these images has led to some rather narrow generalizations and assumptions about the character of the early female emigrants, the most common being that the majority of the women were married 'ladies' of the gentry class whose colonial experience revolved around the activities of their husbands and a variety of social

¹ While Wakefield developed the plan of 'systematic colonization' and, with John Robert Godley, laid the foundations of the Canterbury Association, he did not officially belong to the Association. The control of the Association lay with its Management Committee. Wakefield's involvement with this Committee was considerable, but was kept quiet due to his controversial reputation stemming from his conviction of kidnapping in 1826, after which he served three year sentence in Newgate prison. It was during this incarceration that he met with criminals being transported to Australia and other member of Britain's under-class. His ideas about colonization as a means of relieving some of Britain's social problems grew from this experience. (See A.J. Harrap, The Amazing Career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, [London:Allen and Unwin, 1928], p. 22.

encounters.²

In terms of socio-economic class, age and marital status, the few, better known accounts of Canterbury pioneer life present only a glimpse of the female emigration and colonization experience. The durability of an incomplete and rather restricted view of these women has been due, in part, to the disproportionately large amount of attention devoted, since 1850, to those colonists who were gentry. In both Wakefield's writings and the literature of the Canterbury Association, the emphasis, in terms of the scheme's social and economic benefits, was emphatically directed toward those from the 'higher orders' of society. Thus, the literature dealing with the Canterbury Association scheme strongly reflects the desire of Wakefield and the Association's Emigrant Selection Committee to attract to their scheme members of the upper classes in Britain. Unfortunately, it does not necessarily offer an accurate representation of the variety of persons who actually emigrated under the scheme. Primarily, however, the image of the Canterbury pioneer woman as a 'lady of the gentry' can be tied to the fact that the small number of women's ship board journals and pioneer diaries which are available were written almost exclusively by

² The occurrence of tea dances, picnics and social visits are frequently referred to by both Charlotte Godley and Lady Barker in their journals. Particularly in the case of Charlotte Godley, who, because of her position as wife of the Resident Agent of the Canterbury settlement, was responsible for entertaining any significant visitors to Lyttelton. (See Letter from Early New Zealand 1850-53 Christchurch:Whitcombe and Tombs, 1951.

married, middle aged women of higher socio-economic standing. Two of the most well known and widely read examples of women's colonial journals, Station Life in New Zealand by Lady Barker and Letters from Early New Zealand 1850-53, by Charlotte Godley, have provided the most enduring and commonly held images of the early female settlers and are representative of the narrow scope of colonial experience covered by the majority of existing journals and diaries written by women. Both Lady Barker and Charlotte Godley spent only a few years in Canterbury and then returned to England. Due to their upper class status, (and, in Charlotte Godley's case, her position as wife of the Resident Agent) they were able to avoid many of the hardships of emigration and colonization. It is possible that they had a rather different set of experiences and may have viewed colonization in a more favourable light than did those women who, for financial reasons, had little, if any, hope or opportunity to return to Britain. In addition, Lady Barker and Charlotte Godley were wives and mothers and may have experienced colonization quite differently than single women or childless married women of the working class. Despite their limitations, both of these journals are important records of the pioneer experience and provide us with at least some knowledge of Canterbury's early female emigrants. Neither Charlotte Godley or Lady Barker were,

however, colonists of the Canterbury Association.³ The limited amount of journal material originating from women who did emigrate with the Canterbury Association has not received similar, or in fact, any significant attention. Only a few of the women on board the Canterbury Association ships left written records of their experiences and they, like Lady Barker and Charlotte Godley, were of upper class status. While little information exists to aid in research, it is nevertheless possible to discover more about, not only those women of the gentry who left personal records of their experiences, but also the majority of women from a wide variety of backgrounds who have heretofore remained anonymous.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. The first is to better determine the character of the women who came to Canterbury under the auspices of the Canterbury Association in terms of their socio-economic class, marital status, age and occupation. To date, no compilation of the names and available data relating to these women has been made. This study seeks to remedy that deficiency. From existing shipping records and a small number of shipboard journals it has been possible to identify 822 of the approximately 893 women who traveled on board 22 of the 25 Canterbury

³ While Charlotte Godley was the very first female colonist to be connected with the Canterbury Association she was not among the women who arrived on one of the 25 Association ships. She and her husband had not come to Canterbury in order to settle permanently. Her knowledge that the residence in Canterbury would be temporary would have almost certainly given her a different perspective on colonization. Lady Barker arrived in 1867, well after the Association had ceased to exist.

Association ships between September 7, 1850 and March 15, 1853.⁴ Unfortunately, the information contained on these lists is not sufficiently extensive to allow for detailed insight to individual women's lives or their personal experiences of migration. In a few cases some additional evidence such as the surgeon superintendent's log, or journals kept by fellow passengers can provide some information about specific women, but, unfortunately, this is not common.⁵ For the majority of the women listed, it has, nevertheless, been possible to recover their name, age, marital status, and the class of service in which they traveled. If married, the name of husbands and occasionally their occupations, and the names and ages of any children are also frequently available. This data has been collected to form a general catalogue of the women on board the Canterbury Association ships (See Appendix IV). It serves, not only as a means of identifying the Association's adult female passengers, but also, to provide some basic information about them.

The second purpose of this paper is to utilize the information about the socio-economic status, age, marital status and occupations of all Canterbury Association women

⁴ Of the 25 Association ships, two shipping lists are unavailable and another, from the Fatima (#19), is incomplete and includes the names of only 6 women. The names of 822 female passengers were found on the 22 remaining Canterbury Association passenger lists. (See appendix I. and IV.).

⁵ The position of Surgeon Superintendent on board each of the Canterbury Association ships was one which combined both the duties of the ship's physician and the officer in charge of all passengers. The physicians chosen to fill this position were all male and were usually intending colonists.

in order to provide a more detailed assessment of their conformity with Wakefield's notion of the 'proper' female emigrant. It will then be possible to assess Wakefieldian theory in terms of its approach to female emigration and colonization and to determine whether or not this approach was appropriate and viable.

Although Wakefield's writings dealt with the subject of women and colonization only to a limited extent, he asserted that women had an important role to play in the colonization process. His recognition of women was always in terms of their relationship to males and they were attributed only a secondary, supportive role to males in the colonization process. Despite a positive and strong female role model from an early age and a variety of written expressions concerning women's superiority in matters relating to moral and spiritual issues, Wakefield envisioned only a very conventional role for women in his scheme of emigration and colonization.⁶ Wakefield's ideas about women, their social and familial roles and their ability to contribute to society were colored by prevailing early Victorian attitudes. By 1850, women from the 'upper ranks' were increasingly restricted to a small range

⁶ Wakefield's grandmother Pricilla Wakefield assumed guardianship of Wakefield when he was about eleven years of age due to his mother's illness. Pricilla Wakefield was a prominent Quaker, an author of several books, an active social worker, the founder of the first savings bank at Tottenham and the founder of a maternity home. (See M.F.L. Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield [Auckland: Collins, 1969], p.9)

of activities which centered around the home.⁷ In a reaction to the excesses of the Regency period, the Victorian attitude became earnest and conventional. Religion became a more pervasive force in society and belonged to the realm of women's supposedly 'natural' abilities and inclinations. Additionally, the cult of home and children, and women's role therein, developed to the point of being highly sentimentalized. Marriage was the prime goal for a young woman and was the subject of many books and guides offering advice for success. Once marriage was achieved, however, a woman possessed no legal status and became, in essence, a piece of her husband's property. This situation had not altered since 1765 when Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, stated that,

By marriage, the very being or legal existence of a woman is suspended, or at least it is incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection or cover he performs everything, and she is therefore called in our laws a femme covert.⁸

The idealization of the dominant male/submissive female relationship and the romanticized notion of a woman as the dutiful, religious wife and mother was fully accepted by Wakefield and was the principal means of social

⁷ Between the 1830's and the 1870's the scope of behaviour deemed appropriate for middle and upper class women became increasingly limited. Not until the late 1880's and 90's were significant steps made which widened the sphere of socially acceptable behaviour for women of these classes. (See M. Vicinus, The Widening Sphere - Changing Roles of Victorian Women, [London: Methuen, 1980], p. ix-x).

⁸ Sir William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Law of England (1765-69) - Selections, London: MacMillan, 1973 p.123.

regulation in his scheme for colonization. The images of colonization which Wakefield presented in his writings gave little suggestion that other qualities and abilities might be required in the new colony. Wakefield believed that, despite the exigencies of emigration and colonization, the best female candidates for emigrant selection were those who would maintain the highest standards of feminine behaviour and continue in their roles as submissive and religiously devout 'ladies'.

Wakefield's conventional and restricted ideas about women's roles in the colonization process appear to have been accepted wholeheartedly by the Canterbury Association. In that body's role of administering regulations governing the acceptance of emigrants it followed Wakefield's suggestions regarding the 'proper' type of female emigrant and thereby limited the number of women which it would consider to have as emigrants. Despite the idealized expectations which both Wakefield and the Canterbury Association held for the 'proper' female emigrant, the reality of life for many early Victorian women made it very unlikely that, regardless of their need or desire to emigrate, they would be deemed acceptable by the emigrant selection committee. Unlike the middle and upper class women who could strive for perfection in the domestic sphere and devote a portion of their time to religious and charitable pursuits, the working class woman could not afford such luxuries. Whether working as domestic servants, agricultural labourers, factory workers,

governesses or prostitutes, many women did not fulfill Wakefield's notion of the 'proper' emigrant.

In order to better understand the female emigrants of the Canterbury Association it is first necessary to review Wakefield's theory and the societal problems which initially prompted him to address the issue of emigration and to create a comprehensive plan for 'systematic colonization'. His scheme, designed as a solution to a myriad of societal problems including those problems unique to women, clearly reflects the narrow vision of women's roles which was shared by many of his contemporaries.

Additionally, a more specific discussion of women's roles in early Victorian Britain will be made. Wakefield's adherence to a very conventional view of women will be explored, and the implications this may have had upon his vision of the colonization process. While Wakefield was instrumental in changing perceptions of emigration and colonization, particularly among the upper classes, his efforts to provide a truly viable alternative to many women of the 'uneasy class' were hampered by an inflexible idea of what constituted a 'proper' female emigrant and those feminine qualities most useful and desirable in a new settlement.

Utilizing the information provided by existing records it is possible to identify the majority of female passengers on board Canterbury Association ships and to then determine the degree to which this group of women conformed to Wakefieldian ideology in terms of their

qualities and characteristics. By comparing information from available records with Wakefield's representations about women and colonization it will be possible to assess the degree to which Wakefield's plan of 'systematic colonization' was viable in terms of its expectations of women, particularly within the colonial setting, and the degree to which the Canterbury Association was able to provide to women the emigration and colonization experience which Wakefield had so enthusiastically presented on paper.

CHAPTER I

The Canterbury Association scheme was the last of the five Wakefield settlement projects¹ and although the administration of the Canterbury Association involved the contributions of many men, John Robert Godley in particular, it was Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonization' which formed the ideological base around which the Association was shaped. In 1843, when Wakefield began to plan the first Church of England settlement in New Zealand, he was only too aware of the need for a means by which the serious social ills from which England was suffering could be alleviated. Emigration as a means of relieving the social tensions which industrialization and rapid population growth were creating was, before Wakefield's scheme, not widely accepted as a legitimate means of social reform. Colonization had been attempted, but not in an organized fashion and not in a way beneficial to any but those of the ruling class.²

¹ Wakefield's 'systematic colonization' provided the basis for four other settlements in New Zealand. These were, Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, and Otago.

² Colonial policy was the subject of a great deal of debate, particularly since 1793, when Bentham's 'Emancipate Your Colonies' was published. Here Bentham denounced British colonial expansion as economically worthless, as prone to create wars and as being expensive to maintain and defend. This opinion was countered by those imperialists who advocated colonial expansion for reasons of patriotism, prestige and conversion of the

Until the early part of the nineteenth century the British government occasionally encouraged a trading company to organize an establishment overseas, with commercial advantages beneficial to the state. Wealthy individuals might be given a large grant of waste land in a remote colony, and this would form the basis of a new settlement. These colonies served the interests of only a few, essentially by providing jobs for the ruling class. The idea of using colonies as dumping grounds for Britain's criminals did little to benefit either the colony or Britain. The founding of penal settlements was intended to provide a double benefit. First, it would rid England of a portion of its criminal element and it would also provide pioneer colonists with cheap labour. Thus, when Wakefield began to concentrate his energies on the idea of emigration, that practice was primarily related to convict transport and the 'shovelling out of paupers'.³ Hence, it had a very poor image.

The developments in nineteenth century Britain which had created the need for new and innovative approaches to social regulation grew from events and circumstances, both

heathen. The Colonial Reformers, a group which included Edward Gibbon Wakefield, began, in the 1830's, to reconcile opposing factions. In 1831 Wakefield converted Bentham to his views on the benefits of 'systematic colonization'. (See A.G.L. Shaw, Great Britain and the Colonies 1815-1865 [London: Methuen & Co., 1970], p.2-26.)

³ A term which Wakefield used frequently was originally part of a speech by Charles Buller, a member of the Canterbury Association. Text of this speech is included in the appendices of The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. (See C. Buller "On Systematic Colonization" in M.F.L. Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Auckland, 1969, p. 995.

domestic and foreign, which saw England at the end of the eighteenth century poised for great changes: the American Revolution and the American War; a revival in religion and the development of a higher standard of morality; the crisis in domestic politics in the first twenty years of George III's reign and the emergence of new theories of political thought which influenced men like Jeremy Bentham. A jolt from across the channel - the French Revolution - shocked Britain and led to much unrest and considerable ideological rethinking. To many, it was an inspiration, but to others, such as Wakefield and J.R. Godley, who had some influence in political matters, it was a potential threat and a challenge. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century it was becoming more apparent that a new type of society was developing in Britain and that the ideas about politics, society and religion which had been inherited from the eighteenth century were no longer applicable. The traditional order of hereditary privilege was not acceptable to the new, rising middle classes whose wealth and self-consciousness saw them demanding a place in society heretofore inaccessible. Ideals of greater humanity, justice and common sense with regard to government and law were also spreading. The religious revival inspired some to a higher standard of morality and led to the condemnation of practices such as slavery which had once found acceptance. The full force of these new ideals was felt most after 1815 and the end of the war when the corrupt and morally degenerate reign of King George IV

led to even stronger discontent with the old privileged order.⁴

Concurrent with these intellectual developments were major economic and demographic changes. Economic restructuring was dominated by the growth and development of industry and commerce. This 'Industrial Revolution', in turn, had a profound effect on population distribution. Two major demographic trends resulted: an overall growth in population and an explosion in urbanization. Between 1800 and 1840 the population of Great Britain increased approximately 16% every ten years and in the large cities the growth was even more rapid.⁵ The decade of 1841-51 saw the expansion of the middle sized cities due to the opening of the railways, greater opportunities for urban employment and the failure of rural employment opportunities to keep pace with population growth. In 1841 the Irish potato famine added large numbers of Irish migrants into English cities and an additional natural increase in population took place since most city migrants were young adults of marriageable and childbearing age. Marriage rates were higher in the towns and age of marriage was lower. Both factors encouraged high fertility and the outcome was a birth rate high enough to exceed even the high death rate

⁴ Clark, G.K. The Making of Victorian England, London:Methuen & Co., 1962 p.40.

⁵ Report of the Select Committee on the Health of Large Towns and Populous Districts, Parliamentary Papers, p. 279 in D. & A. Shelston, The Industrial City, London:MacMillan, 1990, p.15.

produced by unhealthy living conditions.⁶

Wakefield accepted the pessimistic outlook which Thomas Malthus had expressed in regard to population growth and the inability of resources to keep pace with increased numbers. As Wakefield argued,

who does not perceive that population has, for at least 15 to 20 years, been increasing at a rate for which no improvement in agriculture or manufactures could afford employment...It is possible that the excessive increase of population may at last correct itself, but it will not do so for a considerable time, nor until great privations have been suffered, and ours are likely to be the most serious and prolonged, as this is the country where the multiplication of the people has been going on with by far the greatest rapidity".⁷

The population statistics for the first half of the 19th century illustrate how grossly insufficient resources were, particularly in the urban areas.⁸ Sub-standard housing, unhygienic living conditions and a poor diet were facts of life for a large number of those who streamed into the cities. This flight from the rural areas caused the

⁶ According to Edwin Chadwick's Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (1842), in the 14 counties where mortality was greatest, the excess of births above deaths per 10,000 persons for the year ended June 30, 1840 was only 89. This compared with 113 more births than deaths within the 14 counties where the mortality rate was the least. (See D. and A. Shelston, The Industrial City 1820-70 p. 22.)

⁷ E.G.W. Wakefield "A Letter from Sydney", in M.F.L. Pritchard, (ed.) The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Auckland, 1969, pp. 93-178.

⁸ According to Shelston, Edwin Chadwick, in his Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (1842) 'used the great wealth of statistical data which had become available to demonstrate the links between poor living conditions, ill health and high mortality, the economic and social costs of ill health and bad housing; and the need to set up an administrative framework capable of handling these problems'. (See D. and A. Shelston, The Industrial City, p.21.)

urban labouring class to grow at an unprecedented rate. Workers and their families poured into the cities and this kept wages to a bare minimum. The population growth in the cities quickly outstripped the number of available jobs. Unemployment became widespread and prices for food remained high. Despite the increasingly broad variety of lifestyle and employment opportunities available in the cities, there was also a growing sense of disillusionment among the urban working class.⁹

The widespread discontent generated by these major social and economic changes was the motivating force behind Wakefield's ambitious colonization schemes. Social ills, he believed could be cured through the lost art of colonization. According to Wakefield, that art, at which the ancient Greeks had excelled, now required a more scientific and disciplined approach. According to Northover, "Wakefield...hoped to make it (colonization) an objective and experimental science, much as Bentham and the philosophic radicals, on whose teachings he was brought up, hoped to discover a science of politics".¹⁰

Wakefield's chief concern was that a revolution

⁹ Particularly during the decade after the first Reform Bill, the Chartist movement provided an outlet for many discontented members of the labouring class, especially in the urban areas. Working class grievance was fuelled by the realities of economic hardship and by the consequences of reforms like the New Poor Law of 1834, which was expressly designed as an instrument of social control. (See G.D.H. Cole and R. Postgate, The Common People 1746-1946, [London: Methuen and Co., 1938], p.303.)

¹⁰ Northover, N.J. 'The Control of Immigration into Canterbury'. Christchurch, University of Canterbury, 1947, p.28 (Thesis: M.A.: History)

similar to those experienced on the Continent in 1830 would occur in Britain unless some way were found to reduce the pressures created by 'excessive competition'¹¹, and particularly those being felt by the growing middle class. Wakefield wrote,

not withstanding the present calm in our politics, occasioned in some measure by exhaustion and the breaking up of parties after the Corn Law struggle, though probably more by late events in Europe, which naturally indisposes our middle classes to political agitation, there are symptoms of restlessness and a vague longing for change, which indicate that another storm may not be very distant.¹²

Despite the Reform Bill of 1832, the middle classes had not come to dominate the political arena. By 1850 the control of politics still lay securely in the hands of the old governing classes, the nobility and the gentry, who had abandoned what was indefensible in their position and maintained what was material for the retention of their power.¹³ The Corn Laws had been repealed and the forces which had gathered to accomplish that goal (the Anti-Corn Law League) had dispersed. Further attempts at Parliamentary reform were postponed for another 20 years. By the end of the 1840's, the period of grandiose schemes and hopes were over. The failures of the previous decade, such as the Chartist movement, had convinced many who

¹¹ Pritchard M.F.L. (ed.) The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p.796.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Moore, D.C. Social Structure, Political Structure, and Public Opinion in Mid-Victorian England, in R. Robson (ed.), Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, London: Bell and Sons Ltd., 1967 p.20-57.

wanted social and political reform and yet feared the violence and social upheaval which had occurred on the Continent, that less ambitious and more conservative organizations might achieve better results. Thus, despite the growth of the middle class and an increase in individual wealth, there was little political strength in their ranks. Colonization offered not only the possibility of better economic prospects and greater opportunities for achieving political power but also the means by which the excessive competition caused by an overabundance of population could be alleviated. Wakefield wrote that,

...the difference between the past middle classes and the present seems to be: first that with the increase in population there are more people to be miserable, not more in proportion but more absolutely and secondly, that with the increase in knowledge, one learns all about that misery which was formerly concealed from the happy classes. But the great uneasiness of the middle classes of England is a new state of things; unexplained and at first sight unaccountable, if one reflects on the vast and rapidly increasing wealth of the English nation.¹⁴

Wakefield lamented the state of affairs which saw many worthy persons reduced to virtual poverty. Importantly, in his writings Wakefield not only gave attention to the social and economic difficulties encountered by those men of the 'uneasy classes', but also to those women who had, because of 'excessive competition', found themselves unable to fulfill what he saw as their primary role in life, that of being a wives and mothers. He wrote that,

All trades and professions being full to

¹⁴ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p.355.

overflowing, the risk of entering either career is very great; and thus the competition for employment in the public service, where there is no risk after gaining the object, is even more severe than in commerce, law and physic. But all this relates only to one sex. With regard to the other, the mention of one fact will suffice for that mere indication of the symptoms of excessive competition in all ranks of the middle class, which alone I pretend to submit to you. Assuredly there is not in the world a community, in which the proportion of women past the marriageable age, but condemned to forego the joys of marriage and maternity, is as large as in this country at this time. Was there ever a country in which grown-up unmarried women were as numerous in proportion to the married?¹⁵

To a certain extent Wakefield was concerned with the plight of those women from 'respectable' backgrounds who, due to reduced circumstances, found it necessary to descend to work which he felt was beneath them. He wrote,

In England, where poverty is a crime, governesses, young, beautiful, well informed, virtuous, and, from the contradiction between their poverty and their intrinsic merit, peculiarly susceptible, are generally treated as criminals; imprisoned, set to hard labour, cruelly mortified by the parents and visitors, worried by the children, insulted by the servants' and all for what? for butler's wages. Yet take up any London newspaper, any day in the year, and you shall find in it a string of advertisements for the hateful situation of governess...An eminent English physician, whose wife had been a governess, states that, of the inmates of madhouses, the largest proportion consists of women who have been governesses.¹⁶

Thus, Wakefield expressed concern not only for those men of the 'uneasy classes' who were confronted with an overcrowded employment market but also for those women of the 'uneasy classes' who were faced with a highly

¹⁵ Ibid., p.364.

¹⁶ Ibid. p.361.

competitive marriage market and the increased possibility of spinsterhood.

Beginning as early as 1830 Wakefield started to develop a system of colonization which would appeal to both male and female members of the 'uneasy class' who faced a diminished lifestyle in Britain and who would normally have never considered the idea of emigration. Wakefield's intention was to create a scheme for colonization which would appeal to the 'higher orders' of society and would maintain the established social hierarchy which existed in England. The construction of 'a vertical section of English society, excluding the lowest stratum'¹⁷ was essentially Wakefield's goal.

In his writings Wakefield identified three broad classes in British society: the very upper classes, which he called the 'spending class'; the wide-ranging middle classes, which he termed the 'uneasy class' and which included members of the gentry and aristocracy; and the lower classes. In his writings Wakefield did not dwell on those of the 'spending class' and expressed doubt in their ability to identify with the difficulties being experienced by the majority of the population. He wrote that,

the privileged class consists of those who, whenever they are wronged or would injure, can buy law without depriving themselves of any other costly luxury; those, in short, who be their rank what it may, have more money than they know how

¹⁷ Northover, 'The Control of Immigration into Canterbury 1850-53', p.41.

to spend.¹⁸

The members of the 'spending class' were, according to Wakefield, a small minority, and hence he preferred to discuss the difficulties of the 'uneasy class', the class which included some members of the gentry and the aristocracy and the class he most wanted to attract to the Canterbury scheme. Wakefield defined the condition of the majority of the middle class as one of 'uneasiness'. He agreed that,

the distress itself is real, extensive and severe, not imaginary, as some of the spending class assert, nor confined, as in former periods, to the idle and thriftless. In fact, the uneasy class consists of three-quarters, or rather perhaps nine-tenths of those who are engaged in trades and professions, as well as all who, not being very rich, intend that their children should follow some industrious pursuit.¹⁹

Wakefield's strong belief in the natural superiority of the 'upper ranks' of society caused him to place a special emphasis on attracting those members, both male and female, of the gentry who had fallen into the 'uneasy class'. This he accomplished by appealing to their desire to protect their social position and wealth within a stable social order:

To the poorer gentry even, especially younger sons of men of fortune, and parents whose families of children are as large as their fortunes are small, the colonies must, I fancy hold out a most agreeable prospect. Indeed, the last of these classes appears to me to be the one that would benefit most by emigrating. In money they would gain like other people; in feeling

¹⁸ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p.355.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.355.

more than other people because they are peculiarly susceptible of such pain as they suffer here and such pleasure as they enjoy there. They are a class with whom pride, far more than love of money, is the ruling sentiment. What they chiefly suffer here is the pain of sinking, or seeing their children sink, into a lower station. What they would chiefly enjoy in a colony is the pleasure of holding themselves the highest position and seeing their children, the sons by exertion, the daughters by marriage continue in the first rank.²⁰

Thus Wakefield reassured the 'uneasy class' that emigration would not lead to a transformation of the established social order and played to their conservative instincts, their sense of natural superiority over and responsibility to lead their social inferiors. He wrote that,

The most respectable emigrants, more especially if they have a good deal of property, and are well connected in this country, lead and govern the emigration of the other classes. These are the emigrants whose presence in the colony most beneficially affects its standard of morals and manners and would supply the most beneficial elements of colonial government. If you can induce many of this class to settle in a colony the other classes, whether capitalists or labourers, are sure to settle there in abundance...This, therefore, is the class, the impediments to whose emigration the thoughtful statesman would be most anxious to remove, whilst he further endeavoured to attract them to the colony by all the means in his power. I shall often call them the higher order, and the most valuable class of emigrants.²¹

These examples of appeals to the 'higher order' of society represent only a small amount of what Wakefield wrote on this particular topic. He believed that concentrating his appeals on the gentry and upper class who

²⁰ Ibid., p.822.

²¹ Ibid., p. 829.

had slipped into 'uneasy class' status would be the most effective way to attract the entire spectrum of society he desired. As illustrated in the above statement, he felt that if he could convince the 'higher orders', the middle class and labouring class would naturally follow.

According to Wakefield, the lack of success which other planned settlements had experienced was due primarily to their failure to attract the full spectrum of the British social hierarchy. This failure was caused by an economic imbalance which was rooted in the chosen method of land disposal. In Western Australia, for example, the government had sold very cheaply, or even given away, land to convicts or paupers who had come to that settlement, many of them involuntarily. This, Wakefield explained, had several detrimental results. First, the low cost encouraged land speculation to take place which, in turn, dispersed the population to the far corners of the territory. Without population concentration, there were no real communities and none of the benefits of community life. Labourers would not work for wages when becoming a landowner was so easy. The absence of community, and a decent society, which included the civilizing influence of women, had discouraged those of higher social and economic standing to venture to these new settlements and they eventually failed to develop into successful settlements.²²

²² Wakefield discusses the effects of transportation and the disproportion of the sexes in Australia in "A Letter from Sydney". E.G. Wakefield 'A Letter From Sydney', in M.F.L. Pritchard (ed.) The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 138.

Thus, the idea of fixing a price for land and of maintaining a 'civilized' society were the main points around which Wakefield shaped his ideas of 'systematic colonization'. Land policy would not only regulate class relationships but would also control the growth of the frontier. Ideally, a price high enough to prevent labourers from becoming land owners too easily would ensure a steady supply of labour and would also prevent capitalists from buying huge tracts of land. The price however, must be low enough to attract capitalists and allow those labourers to become landowners after a few years of work. (Wakefield idealized this prolongment of labour status as a form of apprenticeship). The uniformity of the 'sufficient price' in all parts of the settlement would discourage land speculation and promote the development of communities. From the additional funds provided by this relatively high 'sufficient price' it was intended that educational, religious and other practical amenities which would allow the transition to a new home to be less of a hardship and would serve to attract a 'higher order' of colonist.

Wakefield and the Canterbury Association realized that amenities such as churches and schools were the keys to enticing the desired calibre of colonists, and particularly the best sort of female colonists, to the settlement. The chief inducement for potential colonists was the plan to create in Canterbury a colony restricted to members of the Church of England. By 1843 Wakefield had turned to that body for assistance in attracting emigrants at a time when

the New Zealand Company had lost much of its energy. Wakefield, though not a particularly religious man, recognized the potential that a union between the Church and the New Zealand Company might have in terms of establishing the credibility of the Company among the higher ranks of society and also in attracting more members of those classes to the scheme.

An additional benefit which the monies from the sale of land would fund was a scheme for subsidizing the voyages of labourers who otherwise would have no way to pay for the journey to the colony. A percentage of every land purchase would automatically be placed into the subsidization fund. This system would ensure a ready supply of labourers for land owners upon their arrival in the new settlement and for the labourers it meant a paid voyage and a guarantee of work.

Thus, the 'sufficient price'²³ would serve as the mechanism for maintaining the social balance which Wakefield so assiduously sought by limiting emigrants initially to those who could immediately purchase land, and latterly, to those who had the necessary skills and resources by which they could earn enough to become landowners after two or three years.

Selling land at a relatively high 'sufficient price' required that the colony appeal particularly to those who

²³ Wakefield discusses the details of the 'sufficient price' mechanism in his 'A View of the Art of Colonization'. (See Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 944.)

could afford that price. Wakefield realized the difficulties he would have in converting the views of upper class Englishmen and women towards the idea of emigration - an idea which, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was associated with convict transport. The relationship between the Canterbury Association to the Church of England boosted its credibility but that alone, Wakefield feared, was insufficient to gain colonists from the 'higher orders'. Accordingly, he wrote a great deal designed to relieve from their minds any doubts they might have had about the benefits of emigration.

Thus, Wakefield clearly formed his appeals along the basis of socio-economic status. What of a selection upon the basis of gender? Did not his ideal of a socially balanced colony imply a gender balance also? Like the gentry and upper classes whose involvement he knew to be critical to the success of the scheme, Wakefield also believed that the presence of women was imperative for the attainment of a moral and socially balanced society. It was the role of women, he believed, to furnish the civilizing influence which was necessary in order to prevent the colony from degenerating into a decentralized and socially uncontrolled settlement.²⁴ Did Wakefield and the Canterbury

²⁴ Wakefield dramatically expressed his belief that the gender imbalance in Sydney had created an immoral and degenerate society. He wrote that, 'The transportation of at least ten males for one female maintains a great disproportion between the sexes. This is the greatest evil of all...Know then, that, in this British colony, open, naked, broad-day prostitution is as common as in Otaheite. Are there not societies in England, which have expended millions in sending men and books to the heathen? Why do they not send some women to this abandoned community of

Association successfully appeal to the upper classes in British society?

In order to determine whether or not Wakefield's ideas relating to female emigrants were realistic and practicable, it is necessary to discuss his opinions in the context of nineteenth century British society and of women's roles within that society. Wakefield envisioned a colonial society which would include those women from the middle and upper socio-economic levels. What was their role to be in the colony and what qualities did Wakefield anticipate these women would bring to the colony? The expectations which Wakefield had expressed regarding the characteristics and qualities of the female emigrants were essentially transformed into the Association's policy on emigrant selection and, in turn, this policy was an important factor in determining the nature of the group of female emigrants who came to Canterbury.

their fellow Christians? Are not those devout persons surrounded by unfortunates, who become prostitutes for want of bread?..Tell, them moreover, that if they will equalize the sexes, we offer a husband, plenty, and a virtuous life, to every one of the miserable beings whom they may charitably withdraw from sin and misery. Can they, though, be ignorant of the depravity that reigns here? (See M.F.L. Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 138.

CHAPTER II

WAKEFIELD AND WOMEN'S ROLE IN COLONIZATION

The concept of a settlement created along sectarian lines was not original to Wakefield, but unlike earlier religiously- oriented colonies in America, the impetus for emigration and colonization did not stem from the Church itself and its discontented members. The Canterbury Association was a capitalist enterprise whose success was dependent upon the sale of land. The affiliation of the Canterbury Association with the Church of England was achieved by Wakefield, not in order to establish an alternative homeland for those fleeing religious persecution, or even to provide a reformed version of the Church which many in Britain, particularly the Tractarians, considered to be corrupt and ineffective.¹ Instead, Wakefield's desire for an affiliation between the Association and the Church of England was much more practical. Wakefield paid relatively little attention to the inherent religious benefits which the association with the Church of England would provide to the colony. Of primary importance, rather, was the credibility that the

1 The Oxford Movement, or the Tractarians, led by Canon Pusey, had as its goal, 'to free the national church from its subservience to courts and parliaments composed largely of free thinkers and to elevate the Church into its true place as a divinely inspired national organism'. (See Carrington, Godley of Canterbury, [Christchurch:Whitcombe and Tombs, 1950], p.7.)

church would lend to the project as the full approval and support of the church would make Wakefield's scheme respectable. Wakefield believed that the relationship between Church and Association was crucial if the project was to be both legitimate and different from previous colonization schemes. Backed by the Church of England, the Canterbury Association would, Wakefield hoped, find it easier to attract the 'higher order' of colonist who were integral to the scheme's success.

Wakefield dramatically emphasized the perils that would befall the colony without emigrant selection based upon church membership. He wrote that,

If you made no provision for religion in your colony...you have to take what you could get in the way of emigration. Your labouring class of emigrants would be composed of paupers, vagabonds, and sluts, your middle class, of broken down tradesmen, over reachers, semi-swindlers and needy adventurers, together with a few miserable wives and a good many mistresses, your higher order of emigrants would be men of desperate fortunes, flying from debt and bedevilment and young reprobates spurned or coaxed into banishment by relatives wishing them dead. You would sow bad seed, plant sorry offsets, build with rotton materials, your colony would be disgusting.²

The religious aspect of the scheme was particularly critical for the Canterbury Association's ability to attract middle and upper class women as colonists. Wakefield's main assertion in regard to female colonists was that they were needed to perform the role of moral and religious guardians in the new and untamed settlement. It

² Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 839

was, according to Wakefield, women's natural superiority in moral and religious matters which made them so useful in the colonization process. He wrote that,

Women are more religious than men; or, at all events, there are more religious women than religious men: I need not stop to prove that. There is another proposition which I think you will adopt as readily: it is that in every rank the best sort of women for colonists are those to whom religion is a rule, a guide, a stay and a comfort. You might persuade religious men to emigrate, and yet in time have a colony of which the morals and manners would be detestable, but if you persuade religious women to emigrate, the whole colony will be virtuous and polite. As respects morals and manners, it is of little importance what colonial fathers are, in comparison with what the mothers are.³

Wakefield apparently adhered to the widespread and conservative view that the sexual hierarchy dictated that women, though well endowed with moral and spiritual qualities, were not sufficiently capable of participating in those activities belonging to the realm of the 'outer sphere'. The supposedly 'natural' relationship between the sexes was one of complementary opposites. This viewpoint was most clearly expressed in 1864 by John Ruskin, the chief exponent of the notion of 'separate spheres'. In his essay, "Of Queen's Gardens", which survives as one of the Victorian period's central documents on sexual politics, Ruskin's chivalrous and romantic view of the 'complimentary' relationship between men and women echoes the expressions which Wakefield made regarding women and

³ Ibid., p.840.

their acceptable role in both British and colonial society.⁴ Ruskin's 'natural' scheme relied upon nostalgia and sentiment to perpetuate the domination and control by males, and dictated that the role of the upper and middle class women was dependent on the inherent nature and abilities of the female herself. According to this view, a woman, had she been endowed by nature with equal abilities to a man, would be a 'full member of the elite'.⁵ However, 'nature' had not seen fit to bestow equal, or even similar, abilities to the female of the species and thus, the concept of 'separate spheres' was created in order to explain and justify this inequality.

Echoing Wakefield's belief in the notion of separate roles for men and women, and the inherent abilities which defined the sexes, Ruskin wrote that,

The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war and for conquest.... But the woman's power is for rule, not for battle and her intellect is not for invention or recreation, but sweet ordering, arrangement and decision. She sees the qualities of things, their claims, and their places. Her great function is praise; she enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of contest. By her office and place, she is protected from all danger and temptation. The man, in his rough work in the open world, must encounter all peril and trial - to him therefore must be the failure, the offence, the inevitable error; often he must be wounded or subdued, often

⁴ K. Millet "The Debate over Women - Ruskin vs. Mill", in M. Vicinus, Suffer and Be Still, Bloomington:Indiana University Press, 1972, p. 125.

⁵ Ibid., p.125.

misled, and always hardened.⁶

Thus, a woman was restricted to her inner sphere, and was therefore 'protected' from exercising control over any events or circumstances beyond the 'sweet ordering, arrangement and decision' which she necessarily encountered in her domestic duties. Educating young women both to the glory of those duties and to the 'peril and trial' of the outer world became the main means by which the notion of separate spheres was perpetuated. Women in early Victorian Britain from any but the very lowest socio-economic level were socialized to accept a secondary position to males. The notion of 'duty' and subservience to male figures of authority, whether they be a God, a father, a brother or a husband, was firmly implanted from an early age.⁷

Wakefield fully embraced the ideal of a 'separate sphere' which restricted womens activities to the functions of marriage and procreation and upheld this notion of duty. A prominent historian of Victorian women has stated that for most women,

All her education was to bring out her 'natural' submission to authority and innate maternal instincts. Young ladies were trained to have no opinions lest they seem too formed and too definite for a young man's taste, and thereby unmarketable as a commodity.⁸

Wakefield glorified women and their presumed religious

⁶ M. Vicinus (ed.) Suffer and Be Still, p. 128.

⁷ Horn, P. Victorian Countrywomen, Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991 p. 38.

⁸ Vicinus, Suffer and Be Still, p. x (preface).

and moral traits. His positive expressions of the feminine character and its role in the colonization process not only reflected the view which attributed to women a superiority in spiritual and moral matters, but also dictated that they were physically and often emotionally in need of male protection. Woman's natural spirituality and her idealized role as wife and mother delineated the scope of socially acceptable activities. It was within this 'inner sphere' that the range of women's roles began and ended. Women should ideally center their existence around their home and family in accordance, not only with their 'natural' inclinations, but also from a sense of duty. With few exceptions, involvement with male dominated, 'outer sphere' activities, such as financial, political or legal matters, was deemed inappropriate for women of the middle and upper classes. For the upper class and the increasingly self-conscious middle class, the notion of a woman working outside the home for financial gain was considered inappropriate behaviour - a reflection of her husband's inability to support her and their family. The ideal of middle class 'respectability' became a leading social objective - a means of distinguishing oneself from the lower classes by imposing increasingly narrow guidelines for social behaviour which imitated the perceived behavioural traits of the upper classes. Wakefield's discussions concerning women consistently reflect his acceptance of these increasingly restrictive social conventions.

Ideally, women were to be religious, dutiful and submissive. His rather narrow vision of their presumed abilities and acceptable activities was set forth in a straightforward and unapologetic manner, suggesting that he believed his presumably male audience to agree with him on this topic. Wakefield's brief argument for the necessity of women's involvement in the process of colonization illustrates this point. Wakefield specifically addressed the need for women to become involved in what was, he realized, an area normally outside of their 'inner sphere'. He stated that,

In trade, navigation, war and politics, in all business of a public nature except works of benevolence and colonization the stronger sex alone takes an active part, but in colonization women have a part so important that all depends on their participation in the work. If only men emigrate, there is no colonization; if only a few women emigrate in proportion to the men, the colonization is slow and most unsatisfactory in other respects; an equal emigration of the sexes is one essential condition of the best colonization.⁹

This proposal for the inclusion of women in an 'outer sphere' activity and Wakefield's enthusiastic advocacy of their vital role in successful colonization was not, however, a genuine deviation from a very conventional attitude towards traditionally separate spheres for men and women. Despite his belief that women would take a leading role in maintaining moral and religious values in the colony, Wakefield reaffirmed his belief in women's secondary, supporting role in colonization by stating that

⁹ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 841.

a contribution could be made only if those women were somehow under a man's guidance and 'protection', preferably through marriage. He stated that,

In colonization, the woman's participation must begin with the man's first thought about emigrating, and must extend to nearly all the arrangements he has to make, and things he has to do, from the moment of completing a departure from the family home till the domestic party shall be comfortably housed in the new country.¹⁰

Thus, while Wakefield professed strong support for women and their vital role in the colonization process, his view of what role that would be was limited to within the confines of a male dominated social unit. Throughout his writings Wakefield viewed women and their role in colonization only in terms of what they could do in relation to their male 'protector', be he husband, father or employer. To this end, Wakefield desired that emigrant selection be carried out so that marital status would be a primary determinant of acceptability. He stated that,

The moral advantages of such a selection of emigrants would not be few. If the emigrants were married (as they ought to be and as by rejecting unmarried applicants, it would be easy to take care that they should be), each female would have a special protector from the moment of her departure from the home. No man would have an excuse for dissolute habits. All the evils which in colonization have so often sprung from a disproportion of the sexes, and which are still very serious in several colonies, would be completely averted.¹¹

Regardless of her socio-economic status, the recognition of a women and her contribution to the colony

¹⁰ Ibid., p.840.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 968.

was expressed only in terms of the support it would provide to males. Women's superior religious and moral sense was desirable chiefly in terms of its usefulness in preventing men from pursuing 'dissolute habits'. In his only reference to working class women or women performing physical labour during the colonization process, Wakefield noted their usefulness only in terms of how that contribution would affect the men of the settlement. He stated that,

.... two men having to perform, each for himself, all the offices that women of the labouring class usually perform for men - to cook their own victuals, to mend their own clothes, to make their own beds, to play the woman's part at home as well as the man's part in the field or workshop - to divide their labour hours between household cares and the work of production - would produce less than one man giving the whole of his time to the work of production.¹²

By expressing these opinions, it is clear that Wakefield's theory, despite its progressive approach to land distribution, was very traditional and conventional on the subject of gender roles and social division. Such a narrow focus on women and their role in colonization cannot be considered unusual given the prevailing attitudes in early Victorian Britain and Wakefield's strong desire to maintain a sexual and socio-economic hierarchy. Nevertheless, when considering the ordinary requirements of colonization in terms of physical labour, resourcefulness, and self-sufficiency, it is notable that Wakefield did not give further consideration to other, more practical aspects of colonization for female emigrants as he did for

¹² Ibid., p.969.

prospective male emigrants. Moreover, it is notable that he did not give more emphasis to those women of the working class who would be of immense importance in building a new community.

Although Wakefield's limited his discussion of female emigration issues to those women from the 'higher orders' of society and their supposed characteristics, there were also many good reasons to make an appeal to women of the working class. For women of the lower class in Britain who were not as restricted by bourgeois social conventions as middle class women, dramatic changes were taking place in terms of their employment opportunities and level of independence. While many domestically based handicrafts such as dress making and millinery still absorbed vast amounts of female labour, some of the other traditional ways of supplementing the family income, such as weaving and spinning at home, were now done in the factories. Employment outside the home became available to women in increasing amounts (although many men, except under dire circumstances, refused to allow their wives to work at a factory or mill) and for the first time, a working woman had the opportunity of becoming reasonably economically independent.¹³ Though the wages were small, they were still greater than earnings from spinning or sewing. A daughter could fend for herself and bring home wages equal to her mothers. The result was that daughters were tempted

¹³ D. Marshall, Industrial England 1776-1851, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973 pp.98-101.

to leave home and go to lodgings. This was a blow to both family life and family income. As technology became more widespread the traditional balance of employment between men and women and between youth and maturity was upset. In the traditional cottage or domestic industry the family had always been an economic unit with the wife and children working with the husband. The new conflicts soon began to undermine the old economic authority of the male. Thus, the scope of activities deemed acceptable for working class women was increasingly large, in contrast to the increasingly limited number of activities deemed acceptable for women of the 'higher orders'.¹⁴ The wider variety of abilities and skills which working class women could bring to the colony were never discussed by Wakefield nor were they recognized by the Association's emigrant selection committee. Also, the increased degree of freedom and mobility which many young, working class women enjoyed would have made them good candidates for emigrants. Neither this, nor any matter relating to these women was addressed by Wakefield and the Association.

Within Wakefield's utopian settlement there was little room for those persons whose activities might be potentially disruptive to the male dominated socio-economic hierarchy. Working class women who were, unlike their middle and upper class sisters, beginning to free themselves from the 'inner sphere' were given no attention

¹⁴ A. J. Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen 1830-1914, London: Croom Helm; Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Littlefield, 1979 p. 38.

in Wakefield's writings and their acceptance as emigrants was contingent upon them traveling with an acceptable male 'protector'. It is not surprising therefore, that the overwhelming majority of working class women who came to New Zealand with the Canterbury Association were those who, as domestic servants, remained within that 'inner sphere' and presented no threat to the established order.

While Wakefield focused almost exclusively on married women and their role in colonization in terms of the marital unit, he did consider the widely recognized 'problem' of spinsters. In his writings he dealt extensively with the subject of spinsterhood and promoted emigration and colonization as a possible solution to the very high number of spinsters in Britain during the early to mid-nineteenth century. Wakefield's view of spinsterhood was expressed in lurid imagery. He stated that,

The proportion of English women who pine in celibacy, is far greater than that of Spanish or Italian women who languish in convents; and the English women suffer more than the others because, living in the world, they are more in the way of temptation, more cruelly tantalized by their intercourse with happy wives and mothers. There is not in the world a more deplorable sight, than a fine brood of English girls turning into old maids one after the other; first reaching the bloom of beauty, full of health, spirits, and tenderness; next striving anxiously, aided by their mother, to become honoured and happy wives; then fretting, growing thin, pale, listless, seeking consolation in the belief of an approaching millenium, or in the single pursuit of that happiness in another world, which this

world has denied to them.¹⁵

Wakefield viewed the disproportionate number of spinsters in England as yet another result of the intense competition which was affecting the uneasy class. Due to the traditional gender imbalance found in most colonies which was usually caused by a severe shortage of females of marriageable age, Wakefield believed that emigration would be an ideal solution to the less extreme, but nevertheless, significant gender imbalance in Britain which was caused by a disproportionately large number of females of marriageable age.¹⁶

Despite the fact that this issue was mainly a problem for single women, Wakefield maintained a staunchly patriarchal attitude and directed his appeal for spinsters as emigrants to Canterbury not at the spinsters themselves, but at their fathers. As he wrote,

But if a man of fixed income, his income being small or moderate, be troubled to provide for his sons, how to provide for his daughters is a more perplexing question. The first, no the second point, is to get them married; the first point is to prevent them from marrying into a lower, which commonly means a poorer, rank than that in which they were born...The general rule with the daughters of men of small income, whether fixed or not, is a choice between celibacy and marriage

¹⁵ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 364.

¹⁶ By 1850 the imbalance between the sexes had reached significant proportions. In Britain that year there were 1024 adult women for every 1000 adult men. Mitchell, B.R. Abstract of British Historical Statistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962 p. 6 Table 2. (See A. J. Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen, p. 29.

with one of the uneasy class.¹⁷

Wakefield believed that spinsters, regardless of their age or degree of financial independence, were not significant as an audience. As in all of Wakefield's discussions pertaining to women, women, whether married or single, were not addressed directly, nor were their perceived roles in colonization discussed outside the context of a male-dominated relationship. Wakefield felt that women were useful in that they could provide sufficient moral influence over men to deter them from pursuing 'dissolute habits', but primarily, women were weak and need of a male protector, preferably a husband. Wakefield's goal of a colonial population balanced in gender was to be achieved by the natural balance which would occur through marriage. Marital status, it seems, was the determining factor in a woman's ability to contribute to the success of the colonization scheme.

A devout and submissive wife from the 'upper ranks' represented what Wakefield and the Association considered to be the 'proper' female emigrant. The exigencies of colonization and the new and varied demands placed upon female emigrants were never discussed by Wakefield nor were they dealt with by the Canterbury Association. It seems that both Wakefield and the Association assumed that the idealized role which Wakefield had outlined for women was to be simply and completely transplanted from Britain to

¹⁷ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 365.

Canterbury. No attention was given to the possibility that British social conventions might have only very limited value in the colonization process. No woman took any acknowledged part in the organization and planning of the Canterbury Colonization scheme nor was there any discussion of the variety of more practical roles they might fill in the life of the new community. There was no mention of these issues in the male-oriented forum for discussing topics relating to the Canterbury settlement or within the literature distributed by the Canterbury Association.

Wakefieldian theory acted as a draft in terms of creating a workable set of regulations for emigrant selection and the Management Committee of the Canterbury Association prepared its guidelines for emigrant selection in order that Wakefield's goal of maintaining a gender balance among the emigrants could be realized. These guidelines, though not able to ensure the religious or moral superiority of the female emigrants, could ensure that they be married, or at least accompanied by an appropriate male chaperone. Emigrant Regulations were applied on the basis of class status. Those 'colonists' traveling in either of the cabin classes were not subject to the general rules and regulations for emigrant selection,¹⁸ apparently in order to remove any possible impediments for those persons considering the purchase of land. In contrast, those 'emigrants' who were to be

¹⁸ The Canterbury Association reserved the use of the term 'colonist' for those persons who came to Canterbury as land purchasers. Labourers were referred to as 'emigrants'.

granted an assisted or free passage needed to conform to a variety of regulations. It was Wakefield's intention that the emigration fund, which would offer free and assisted passages to nominated passengers,

ought to be laid out so as to take away from the old country, and introduce into the colonies, the greatest possible amount of population and labour; in such a manner that, as an emigration fund, it should have the maximum of effect both on the colonies and the mother-country.¹⁹

In order to accomplish this goal, Wakefield expressed his belief that the best sort of emigrants, both male and female, were young, married and childless couples. He stated that,

Marriage...produces a greater anxiety for the future, and a very strong desire to be better off in the world for the sake of expected offspring. This then is the class of people that could be most easily attracted to a colony by high wages and better prospects. The class which it is most expedient to select.²⁰

Wakefield also pointed out the benefits which young couples would bring to the colony in terms of increasing the population as quickly as possible. He stated that,

In a colony thus peopled, there would be hardly any single men or single women: nearly the whole population would consist of married men and women, boys and girls, and children...The colony would be an immense nursery, and, all being at ease, would present a finer opportunity than has ever occurred for trying what may be done for society by really educating the common people.²¹

Children, however, were to be postponed until the

¹⁹ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p.970.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 972

²¹ Ibid., p.972.

emigration process had been completed and the couple were adequately settled in their new home. Wakefield stated

that, ...young men and women (emigrating) without any incumbrance - you will find quite at their ease, enjoying the luxury of idleness, pleased with the novelty of their situation, in a state of pleasurable excitement, glorying in the prospect of independence, thanking God that they are still without children...When children first reach a colony, they necessarily encumber somebody. They cannot for some time be of any use as labourers; they cannot produce wealth wherewith to attract, convey, and employ other labourers.²²

Another factor which Wakefield sought to control was that of age. Wakefield believed that youth was a critical ingredient to the success of the colony. He stated that,

If they were old people, their labour would be of little value to the colony; not only because it would soon be at an end, but also because it would be weak, and because after middle age few workmen can readily turn their hands to employments different from those to which they are accustomed. In order that poor emigrants taken to a colony should be as valuable as possible, they ought to be young people, whose powers of labour would last as long as possible, and who could readily turn their hands to new employments.²³

Additionally, those passengers requesting free or assisted passages were required to submit certificates from their physician, from the minister in their parish and from one or more of the magistrates of their county. If applicable, it was also necessary to submit a form of recommendation from the land purchaser who was subsidizing the applicant's voyage through a contribution into the

²² Ibid., p.969.

²³ Ibid., p.969.

emigration fund.

In creating its Emigrant Regulations, the Canterbury Association followed Wakefield's lead in attempting to maintain a traditional, patriarchal and socio-economic hierarchy. These examples of factors which Wakefield chose to control indicate that his notions about female emigrants were positive yet one-dimensional and limited by his own conventional ideas. Little was done by the Association to directly encourage married women to emigrate despite Wakefield's claims of their vital role in successful colonization. Single women without a suitable male chaperone were not encouraged to consider Canterbury as a possible destination. The implications of both Wakefield's rather restricted view of female emigration and the way this affected the emigrant selection process can be better understood only by looking at the group of women who did eventually go to Canterbury. One must question Wakefield's views of women in terms of his idealization of their characters and of his, (and the Canterbury Association's) assumption that these young, married and childless women would be the most likely candidates for emigration. The above discussion of Wakefieldian theory and his views on women's role in colonization is intended to provide some understanding of his, and the Association's expectations about both the quantity and the quality of female emigrants who would travel on Association ships to Canterbury. In order to gain a better understanding of the degree to which Wakefield's and the Association's expectations regarding

female emigrants were fulfilled, it is necessary to discuss some aspects of the Association's administration and operations. The Association's overall success in promoting the scheme relates directly to its success in fulfilling its expectations of the female emigrants who came to Canterbury.

CHAPTER III

Recruitment of Female Emigrants

The translation of Wakefield's vision of 'systematic colonization' into reality was a goal shared by many others concerned with the state of Britain's social, political and economic well-being. The success which those persons most closely associated with the endeavour had in recruiting colonists to the scheme was an important factor in determining the nature of the group of female emigrants who traveled on Association ships, both in terms of its size and character.

The first meeting between Wakefield and John Robert Godley took place in the autumn of 1847 and Wakefield's vision of colonization was then harnessed to Godley's energy to improve the social conditions in Britain. Largely due to Godley's good connections and widespread popularity,¹ the fledgling Canterbury Association was able to attract significant support. The first membership list of the Association included two archbishops, seven bishops, fourteen peers, four baronets, and sixteen members of parliament. Although the degree of religious devotion felt by Wakefield may be questioned, there can be no such doubts relating to Godley. Much of the initial support by important members of the Church can be attributed to the

¹ Straubel, A History of Canterbury, p. 135-137.

sincerity with which he conducted himself, not only in all religious matters, but in his public life in general.

The selection of a site for the colony was made by Captain Joseph Thomas in late 1848. In early 1850 Godley, his wife and young son traveled to Canterbury in order to take up his post as Resident Agent, and to await the arrival of the first body of emigrants scheduled to arrive later that year.² Meanwhile, the Association members in London were responsible for the promotion of the colony. This included land sales, enlisting emigrants, and finding a bishop for the colony. Unfortunately, without Godley's binding influence, the Association slowly unraveled. According to Straubel, it was Godley and not Wakefield who held the Association together. He wrote,

But as soon as the Association tried to settle down to business its deficiencies became painfully manifest. The bishops, nobility, and landed gentry, who so impressively lent their names to the Canterbury project, had neither the disposition nor the capacity for committee work. Godley, energetic, businesslike and a gentleman, could keep the ship in some sort of trim with this crew of distinguished supernumeraries. Wakefield recorded sadly that 'the affair lost its soul and body when it lost Godley, who both thought and acted for everybody'.³

The Association experienced difficulties in finding a

² For accounts of the journey and settlement in Lyttelton by both John And Charlotte Godley, See, J.R. Godley, A Selection from the Writings and Speeches of John Robert Godley, [Christchurch:Press Office, 1863], 251p. and C. Godley, Letters from Early New Zealand 1850-53, [Christchurch:Pegasus Press, 1951], 376p.

³ Straubel, A History of Canterbury, p.159.

suitable bishop for the colony ⁴ but its greatest problems stemmed from poor land sales. Despite Wakefield's emphasis on the social and religious aspects of the scheme, and his statements regarding the benefits which women would bring to the colony, the real success of the Canterbury Association was to be determined by its financial viability. This viability was dependent upon the revenue earned from land sales. The Association had borrowed its development capital from the New Zealand Company and its survival depended upon the repayment of that debt.⁵ In 1848 the Association had set a goal for land sales in Canterbury and had estimated the revenue that could be thus derived. Early estimates of land sales published in the 'Canterbury Papers' optimistically envisioned transactions involving "200,000 acres in the first year or two".⁶

As the drive for recruiting new passengers continued the geographic scope for marketing widened and in early 1850 it was decided that Felix Wakefield, younger brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and employed by the Canterbury Association to preside over land sales, should organize meetings in provincial towns "in centres of the agricultural districts for the purpose of diffusing more

⁴ After the Association's first two choices for a bishop fell through, the Association made its third choice; the Reverend Thomas Jackson. Jackson was not well suited for colonial life and did not stay in New Zealand. Ibid., p. 163.

⁵ Ibid., p. 151

⁶ Canterbury Papers, p. 20.

widely a knowledge of the plans of the Association".⁷ Accordingly, these meetings were held in several towns, but unfortunately, this aspect of the marketing scheme did not achieve the degree of response the Association had anticipated.⁸ Although recruitment from the London office was relatively successful, neither that effort, nor those undertaken in the rural areas achieved the results the Canterbury Association had anticipated. This initial lack of success in land sales presaged the eventual failure of the entire Canterbury Association project. The root of the problem was only beginning to become apparent to the Management Committee. That problem was twofold. The first difficulty was the discrepancy between those whom the Canterbury Association targeted as potential colonists through their marketing campaign and those members of society who were most likely to emigrate. The Canterbury Association advertisements were chiefly directed towards upper class Anglicans who could afford the L3 per acre price of land and not toward those persons, who, because of a very precarious existence in Britain, urgently wanted to emigrate.⁹ The second problem was that the Management Committee of the Canterbury Association had seriously

⁷ Minutes of Management Committee of the Canterbury Association, 19 February, 1850, Canterbury Museum.

⁸ Northover, 'The control of immigration into Canterbury 1850-1853', p.67.

⁹ According to the Canterbury Papers, It was stated that, "measures will be taken to send individuals of every class and profession, in those proportions in which they ought to exist in a prosperous colonial community". Canterbury Papers, p. 18.

overestimated the degree to which the right to nominate labourers for assisted passage granted to land purchasers, would attract more capital investment. This did not become, as the Association had hoped, a major selling point of the scheme. Additionally, those land-purchasers who did happen to take advantage of the nomination scheme did not bring with them anywhere near the number of labourers anticipated.¹⁰

Wakefield had realized the difficulty he would have in converting the views of the middle and upper classes of society who were the least likely to feel the desperate need to emigrate and the most likely to take a conservative 'wait and see' approach before undergoing the upheaval of migration. He and the Canterbury Association geared their promotional strategies to this market. They did not, however, realize the difficulties they would have in attracting members of the labouring class to their scheme. It seems that the organizers of the Canterbury scheme, in placing such emphasis upon the desirability of upper class colonists neglected to concern themselves with the attractiveness of the scheme to the labouring class. The high land cost was a factor in Canterbury's lack of appeal. For a farm labourer, wanting only his own piece of land and little concerned with fine churches, schools and the other amenities which the Canterbury scheme included, the price

¹⁰ R.A. Chapman, 'Problems Associated with the Recruitment of Steerage Passengers for the First Four Emigrant Ships to Canterbury in 1850', in Records of the Canterbury Museum, May 1990, Vol. 10 No.4, p.40.

of land at L3 per acre was entirely too high as compared with alternative settlements. Another detraction was New Zealand's distance from England. If, for some reason, emigration was not a success, the great distance essentially precluded the option of returning home due to expense, while emigration to Canada and the U.S. did not impose this additional concern to such an extent. For those labourers who could have a piece of land outright in another colony, the Canterbury scheme left something to be desired.

Initially the guidelines and quotas for emigrants which Wakefield had inspired the Canterbury Association to adopt, appear to have been fairly carefully followed. This however, seems to have changed once it became difficult to attract a sufficient number of emigrants to the scheme. Relaxation of emigrant regulations regarding age took place, but nevertheless, passenger numbers remained insufficient to fill the first four ships which the Association had already chartered. The hope that the right of land-purchasers to nominate labourers for an assisted passage would attract a greater response was not met and the Association reacted first by backing away from its original goal that the settlement be "composed entirely of members of our own church."¹¹ In May, 1850, the Canterbury Association let it be known that land purchasers would be acceptable even if they were not Anglican. It was stated that, an understood approval and adhesion to,

¹¹ Canterbury Papers, p. 6.

the general principles of the Association's scheme and the willingness to pay L1 an acre towards the support of the religious and educational establishments proposed will be regarded as generally sufficient evidence of the purchaser being attached to the Church of England and being an eligible colonist¹²

The relaxation of both religious and age qualifications was soon extended not only to land purchasers but to the nominated emigrants. The age restrictions for nominated emigrants were relaxed after James Fitzgerald, the Association's Emigration Agent, informed the Committee of Management in June, 1850, that the "40 year age limit likely to occasion inconvenience to some of the Colonists"¹³

In response, the Committee stated that...

it will be ready to take any particular case into their consideration and where there are strong and definite reasons for the recommendation either on the grounds of long service to the land purchaser or that the Emigrant is the father of a large family, who are likely to prove useful and valuable settlers, in such and similar cases the Committee will make a special order removing the disqualification of age.¹⁴

Despite the relaxation of the age and religious qualifications, the Canterbury Association did not, at least publicly or overtly, change its regulations on emigrant selection. Its failure to do so was most likely

¹² Canterbury Papers, p.120.

¹³ In this case Fitzgerald used the term 'colonist' to refer to nominated emigrants and not land purchasers. Minutes of the Management Committee of the Canterbury Association, 9 July, 1850.

¹⁴ Ibid.

due to several factors. The real attraction of the colony, as compared to alternative settlements lay in the social advantages which formed the entire ideological basis of the scheme. To change regulations at such a late date could have seriously undermined the good faith which those colonists already committed to the scheme had placed in the Association for maintaining the same degree of qualifications which they themselves had been subject. Additionally, the Association undoubtedly felt it must adhere to its duties as set forth in its Charter. Lastly, the sincere belief held by the members of the Management Committee to make economic matters subservient to social ideals put the Association in a difficult position of not being able to succeed financially without sacrificing its entire ideology.

Despite very optimistic estimations of land sales which the Association had published in the Canterbury Papers (200,000 acres), the Committee of Management had reduced this to a more realistic figure. By April 30, 1850 it was anticipated that 33,000 acres would be sold. The opening of applications on July 31, 1850, revealed, however, that only 13,150 acres of rural land had been sold and that the number of land purchasers prepared to commit themselves to the Wakefieldian notion of an ideal society were much fewer than had been anticipated.¹⁵ According to Straubel, the number of land purchasers who came to Canterbury under this particular scheme was indeed very

¹⁵ Canterbury Papers, p. 209.

low. He stated that, "all facts considered it seems safe to assume that no more than 400 men entered Canterbury as land purchasers."¹⁶ The success of the scheme and the realization of its utopian social goals hinged entirely upon the sale of land and the revenue this would bring, yet those 'ideal' colonists whom the Association was targeting were much less likely to emigrate than the more desperate members of the labouring class. Wakefield and the Canterbury Association spent their efforts courting men who were established capitalists and were among the least likely people to leave England. Even if these men could have been persuaded to emigrate, they were the most likely to take a conservative 'wait and see' approach. Despite the Association's generous financial expenditures and best efforts to attract the wealthier land purchasers, land sales did not come close to meeting expectations.

As late as August, 1850, just five weeks before the 'First Four Ships' were due to sail from London, the Canterbury Association was unable to fill its ships. Land sales fell far short of those anticipated, as did revenues, and although chief and forecabin passengers on the Canterbury Association ships were relatively abundant, the steerage quarters were sparsely filled. Despite some last minute efforts to attract potential emigrants, the numbers were insufficient to cover costs and at one point it appeared as though the Association would become insolvent

¹⁶ Straubel, "Who Were the Canterbury Pilgrims?" Address given to Social Science Section of Royal Society of New Zealand, 16 June 1949. Canterbury Museum.

and the entire scheme of a colony at Canterbury would fail due to lack of funds. According to the Minute of the Canterbury Association's Management Committee meeting on August 5, 1850, the passenger shortage threatened the survival of the entire scheme. It stated that,

Mr. Fitzgerald having represented to the Committee that the system which had been adopted for filling the ships with assisted passengers had up to the present time proved wholly inadequate and that still nearly 300 passages were not filled up. It appeared to the committee indispensably necessary that steps should be taken without delay to fill up the requisite number"...that Felix Wakefield be empowered to take such steps..to relax the existing regulations.¹⁷

Only one week later on August 12, 1850 in a letter from E.G. Wakefield to Lord Lyttelton (first Chairman of the Management Committee) Wakefield wrote,

..informing you that various reports this morning (especially from my brother who has been to Canterbury in Kent) almost satisfy me that the requisite number of labourers will be obtained without any relaxation of the law as to high character, and with no great relaxation as to payment of a share by the emigrants themselves. Indeed it might be said that our fright about the emigrants is at an end.¹⁸

How did the Canterbury Association attract such a large number of passengers in such a very short time? Evidence strongly suggests that the Canterbury Association, in attempting to quickly fill the ships which were about to depart, turned to an independent agency for assistance. According to Chapman, "On 20 August, 1850 a member of the

¹⁷ Minutes of Management Committee of the Canterbury Association, 5 August, 1850. Canterbury Museum.

¹⁸ Letter by Wakefield to Lyttelton, 12 August 1850. The Founders of Canterbury. Vol.1, p.310.

Association's Management Committee called on the founder of the Family Colonization Loan Society to ask her to help to fill the 'First Four Ships'".¹⁹ This is revealed in a letter from a Mrs. Caroline Chisholm to the Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert M.P. (a member of the Canterbury Association and also a Committee Member of the Family Colonization Loan Society). Caroline Chisholm had established the Family Colonization Loan Society in 1846. The society's purpose was the facilitation of emigration and it acted as a savings and loan for intending emigrants whereby they could "save small amounts regularly with her society until they had accumulated sufficient money to pay for their passage to Australia".²⁰ The correspondence between Mrs. Chisholm and Sidney Herbert (see appendix III) strongly suggests that the Family Colonization Loan Society provided 374 emigrants to the Canterbury Association. Despite the Association's attempt to insist that the agency select only Church of England members as emigrants for the Canterbury scheme, it appears as though this request was not heeded and that emigrants, regardless of religious affiliation, were recruited.

Thus, it seems that the Canterbury Association was rescued from an early demise by Caroline Chisholm and the Family Colonization Loan Society. Apparently, the preferences which Wakefield had expressed regarding the

¹⁹ R.A. Chapman. "Problems Associated with the Recruitment of Steerage Passengers for the First Four Emigrant Ships to Canterbury in 1850", p.39-53.

²⁰ Ibid., p.48.

'proper' type of emigrant were not practical ones. His emphasis on the recruitment of emigrants from the 'upper ranks' proved to be a misjudgement of that class and their willingness to emigrate to such a distant colony. The idealism which Wakefield had expressed and which had been adopted by the members of the Canterbury Association rapidly became an impractical and restrictive burden which was discarded in order that the financial viability of the scheme be maintained. The Wakefieldian vision of a 'slice of English society' was not being translated into reality as he and the other organizers of the Canterbury Association had anticipated it would, and the character of the group of both female and male emigrants was not exactly as Wakefield and the Association had intended it would be.

The evidence which indicates that many emigrants were recruited from the books of the Family Colonization Loan Society suggests that some, and perhaps a good number, of those female passengers on board the Canterbury Association ships were not ones who would have necessarily been chosen by the Association's own emigrant selection committee. How did this deviation from the Association's anticipated method of selecting emigrants affect the nature of those female passengers on board the ships? Unfortunately, this is a difficult question to answer due to the loss of all application forms. Without them, it is not possible to distinguish those women who were actually selected by the Canterbury Association and those who might have been chosen

by the Family Colonization Loan Society. It can be said, however, that this initial failure on the part of the Association to attract even a minimal number of emigrants indicates that Wakefield's vision of successful colonization based upon careful emigrant selection and his idealized notion of women's roles within the colonization process were not fulfilled to the degree which he had anticipated.

A second factor which detracted from the fulfilment of Wakefield's vision and altered the character of the group of female emigrants going to Canterbury was related to the success with which the Association was able to attract members of the 'upper ranks' to the scheme. The greatest determining factor in a woman's ability to contribute was, according to Wakefield, strongly related to her socio-economic status. Those ladies and gentlemen of the 'upper ranks' were the most desirable colonists. Thus, when Wakefield stated that "women have a part so important (in colonization) that all depends on their participation in the work", he was referring to those women of the "upper ranks". If these middle and upper class women were not strongly represented among those who eventually travelled to Canterbury on the Association's ships, how did this alter the nature of the ideal society he was attempting to create? For all steerage passengers, the conformity to the Association's marital status preferences, age requirements, and other regulations was beneficial in terms of the Association's desire that a relatively homogeneous group of

emigrants go to Canterbury. For the women of the 'upper ranks', to whom Wakefield attributed such an important role in colonization, socio-economic status and degree of religious devotion were of the greatest importance in determining one's desirability as an emigrant.

Without any specific information regarding the occupational activities or income of passengers,²¹ it is only possible to gain a better idea of a female passenger's socio-economic status by looking at the class of travel which the emigrants selected for themselves on board the ships. Although not foolproof, this method of roughly establishing the number of passengers who fell into upper, middle and working class status is probably quite reliable. Given the clear distinctions between upper, middle and lower class status which existed in early Victorian Britain, and the limited degree of social mobility, it is unlikely that passengers attempted to transgress the boundaries of their own socio-economic class by travelling in either a lower or a higher accommodation class than that to which they belonged. Among the four available classes of travel, those members of the 'upper ranks', and even those of comfortable middle class status were almost certain to travel in one of the two cabin classes. The cost of both chief and fore cabins would have certainly been a factor in limiting the number of emigrants traveling in those classes of accommodations. Given the very high cost of a chief cabin

²¹ Although the occupations of steerage passengers are readily available, those of fore and chief cabin males are not.

fare at L42, (this was equal to approximately one and a half to two times the average annual wage of a female domestic servant)²² it is unlikely that any but those who were very comfortably off would have opted for this class of travel. Although the fore cabin fare cost significantly less at 25L, this was still a substantial amount and beyond the abilities of the large majority of working class persons. Even the cost of a steerage berth, at 15L was not easily met by workers, as demonstrated by the establishment of a nomination fund which would ensure that sufficient numbers of labourers would be able to make the journey and thus, be available to the wealthier colonists.

For those passengers who could afford the expensive first or 'chief' cabin fare, the voyage, though not glamorous or any faster, was nevertheless, slightly more comfortable and less taxing. The chief cabin passengers were considered to be guests of the captain and dined at his table. As their domestic needs were fulfilled at home by a variety of staff, so too were they fulfilled on board the ships. Of those women who traveled to Canterbury on board Association ships²³ 103, or 12.5% of them, came as chief cabin passengers.

²² According to Horn, "The wages earned by these girls inevitably differed according to the position they held and the size of the household in which they worked. While young servants in their first post might receive as little as L2 10s or L5 a year, the most senior could obtain many times that amount, exclusive of board and lodging. (See P. Horn Victorian Countrywomen, [Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991], p. 169.)

²³ Among the 822 women who arrived on one of the 22 ships with existing passenger lists.

The Association ships carried another 122 women, or 14.8% of all adult female passengers in the second or 'fore' cabin class. For those passengers in that class the journey was little different from those enjoying first class status except for them having to perform some of their own domestic chores and being placed into family groups for their meals. They, like the first cabin class passengers, enjoyed better food and more privacy than did the steerage passengers. Because the Canterbury Association did not require passengers in either of the cabin classes to divulge a great deal of personal information when applying, there is, in general, much less available than for those passengers in the steerage.

The majority of passengers, both male and female, travelled in the steerage, whether paid, free or assisted. In total, 597 women, or 72% of all adult female passengers came to Canterbury in the steerage compartments of the Association ships. It was anticipated that most would be employees of the wealthier passengers, and it was for these emigrants that Wakefield had established the emigration fund in order that the L15 fare could be met. For those few working class emigrants who did not require any financial assistance and could afford an additional fare, the Paying Steerage offered slightly better accommodations at L19.²⁴

²⁴ The steerage quarters of each ship were divided into three separate sections. One held the single women, another the married couples with children under 12 and the third, the single men. Women travelling alone to meet husbands in New Zealand were berthed in the single women's compartment as were those women 12 years and older travelling with parents, sisters or brothers. Also berthed

In his writings Wakefield had emphasized the important contribution which the middle and upper class Anglican women would make to the colony. The Association's emigrant selection policy strongly favoured the acceptance of these women, provided, of course, that they were married or travelling with an appropriate male 'protector'. How much success did Wakefield and the Association have in attracting middle and upper class Anglican women to the settlement? Available records indicate that approximately 225 of the 822 women (27.3 %) who travelled on 22 of the 25 Canterbury Association ships traveled in the cabin classes. This figure, while significant, fails to provide any real information about the degree to which Wakefield and the Canterbury Association's expectations regarding the anticipated number of female emigrants of the 'upper ranks' were met. It is probable that a positive relationship existed between the number of land sales and the number of female passengers travelling within the cabin classes. Because of the very reduced quantity of land sales and the estimation that "no more than 400 men entered Canterbury as land purchasers", there would have almost inevitably been a reduction in the number of female passengers of the 'upper ranks'. Low land sales figures would have meant fewer male land purchasers and their female companions

in the single women's compartment were the few widows, who usually travelled with their adult children. Both sections of the Steerage were located in the lower part of the ship. Berths were built along the walls while the central area was reserved for eating and other communal activities. Little privacy was available and all facilities were very basic.

traveling in the cabin classes of the Association's ships.

Although the number of women travelling in the cabin classes probably did fall below official expectations due to low land sale figures, that number is still significant. The initial impression provided by the Association's passenger lists is that over one-quarter of all women going to Canterbury were of middle and upper class status. Although this may not have been as large a proportion as Wakefield and the Association wished, it provided some evidence that the effort to promote the colony as one suitable for women of the 'upper ranks' was successful. Closer inspection of the official passenger lists, however, reveals evidence which indicates that a substantial number of those women travelling within the cabin classes on Association ships were not actually traveling to the Canterbury settlement. Although the data is incomplete, it appears that many women, along with their husbands, families or employers, were simply utilizing a Canterbury Association vessel as their transport to New Zealand and had no intention of being part of the Wakefield scheme. Due to reduced passenger numbers, it appears that the Association was willing to provide transport to non-Canterbury Association members in order to gain additional revenue. Apart from that transport, there seems to be no connection between these women and the Association.

Within the 22 complete passenger lists which are available, 13 include notations beside the names of

passengers who were traveling to another location besides Canterbury.²⁵ The chief destinations for these women were, Wellington, New Plymouth, and Nelson. Several others went to Auckland and Otago. The number of women listed (from among the 13 lists with 449 adult female passengers included) as not going to Canterbury totals 51. In other words, approximately 11.25% of the women on board thirteen of the Associations vessels did not go to Canterbury. By extrapolating this figure to apply to all 25 vessels, it is possible that some 100 of the 893 female passengers did not actually go to Canterbury at all.

Given Wakefield's desire to attract a high number of women from the 'upper ranks' of society, it is particularly significant that a very large proportion of those women not destined for Canterbury were cabin class passengers. Among the 51 women listed as not going to Canterbury, 23 of them traveled in the fore cabin and another 11 of them in the chief cabin. This means that altogether, 67% of non-Canterbury women were from the cabin classes. Another 13

²⁵ These notations appear to have been additions made to the original lists. The random placement of these notations on the lists, and the sometimes haphazard way in which they were jotted down indicates that, perhaps, the recording of those passengers not going to Canterbury was done in a rather casual manner, and was not as thorough as possible. The number of female non-Canterbury Association passengers on each of these 13 ships varies. On some ships the number is low, perhaps two or three. On others, however, seven and up to nine of the female passengers were destined for another colony. There is no evidence that groups of non-Canterbury passengers were placed on certain ships or organized so that all non-Canterbury passengers on a particular ship would be going to the same destination. For example, on board the Cornwall (#18), of the seven women not destined for Canterbury, four were going to Wellington and three to Nelson.

were free or assisted steerage passengers and the remaining four were from the paying steerage.

Despite the limited nature of this information, it has important implications for both the social and economic success of the Canterbury settlement. Evidence of such a large number of female cabin class passengers not going to Canterbury reveals a significant reduction in the number of middle and upper class women who would have contributed to the development of the colony. Again, by extrapolating the figures relating to the 51 non-Canterbury females to the entire group of female emigrants, it is possible that 67% of the 100 potential non-Canterbury Association women, or 67 of them, were cabin passengers. Out of an estimated total of 260 women in the cabin classes,²⁶ it is possible that approximately 67 of them, or 25.7% of all female cabin class passengers did not go to Canterbury. If this were the case and over one quarter of the cabin class females on Association ships were not destined for Canterbury, it is likely that the number of 'upper rank' women whom Wakefield and the Association had hoped for was very much lower than anticipated.²⁷

²⁶ Estimated number for all 25 ships. With 229 from 22 ships = 10.4 per ship. $10.4 \times 25 = 260$.

²⁷ The non-Canterbury Association status of 23 fore cabin and 11 chief cabin women alters the proportions of the women on the ships who would become Canterbury settlers. With the number of fore cabin class women reduced from 122 to 99, the proportion of fore cabin class females who were going to Canterbury was 12% (adjusted from 14.8%) of the total adult female population. With the reduction of 11 chief cabin class women, from 103 to 92, the proportion of chief cabin to total adult female passengers was 11.2% (adjusted from 12.5%).

Thus, there are clear indications that low land sales in Canterbury and alternative destinations for many of the women on board may have resulted in disappointingly low numbers of 'upper rank' female emigrants. It is apparent that Wakefield's optimistic belief that a 'slice of English society' could be transplanted to Canterbury was not shared by those members of the middle and upper classes to whom he had attributed such a critical role in the scheme, and to whom he and the Association had pinned their hopes for success. While the Association may have gained financially from having such a significant number of non-Canterbury Association passengers on board the ships,²⁸ the loss of the female passengers to other colonies in New Zealand would have certainly been detrimental to Wakefield's intentions that a large number of women from the middle and upper classes settle in Canterbury.

Despite the Association's failure to attract a sufficient number of emigrants, the resultant financial difficulties, and the loss of a significant number of female cabin class passengers to other settlements, there remained ^{as many as} 771 women²⁹ who were destined to become the pioneer mothers of Wakefield's 'Belgravia of Colonies'³⁰. Although the Association's financial problems reflected a

²⁸ With the addition of the husbands and children of these 51 women, approximately 151 passengers on board the 13 ships with destination notes were not traveling to Canterbury.

²⁹ 822 from 22 ships, less 51 traveling to other destinations = 771.

³⁰ Canterbury Papers, p. 75.

very significant shortfall in the number of women (and their land purchasing husbands, fathers, and brothers) of the "upper ranks" who came to Canterbury, the scheme was able to proceed with the apparent assistance of Caroline Chisholm and the Family Colonization Loan Society. Because the Association did not succeed financially, chiefly due to the lack of involvement of the 'upper ranks' of society, the achievement of the social goals which Wakefield had envisioned were not possible. Without the revenue earned from land sales, the ability of the Association to build the churches and schools which it had promised to the colonists was limited.

Although Wakefield's and the Association's hopes of transplanting a significant number of female members of the 'upper ranks' to the colony were not realized, the Association did bring hundreds of women to Canterbury. The characteristics of the group of female emigrants on Association ships can provide some insight into the type of women who did come to settle the province, and the success which Wakefield and the Association had in attracting women who conformed to their preferences regarding age, marital status, occupation etc. Regardless of the manner in which the female emigrants were recruited, these were the women who would work to establish the new colony. What then, were the characteristics of the female passengers who did travel to Canterbury? Their conformity to Wakefieldian preferences for female emigrants can help to determine the degree to which Wakefieldian theory was accurate in its

expectations of women,
and the degree to which, at least some of, Wakefield's
social goals for the colony could be realized.

CHAPTER IV

The Canterbury Association's Female Emigrants

Just as the Association was optimistic when initially estimating the amount of land it hoped to sell, they were, it seems, equally optimistic when they put forth their plan to "carefully exercise a power of selection"¹ when choosing emigrants. Because of low land sales figures, however, the Association was unable to select emigrants as carefully as it had anticipated. The Association's policy of emigrant selection was based on the assumption that sufficient numbers of land-purchasing males would join the scheme and bring with them, not only their female family members, but also a substantial number of both male and female nominated labourers.² Because insufficient numbers of land-purchasers were attracted to the scheme, both the number of 'upper rank' female emigrants, and the number of nominated emigrants was low. The Association had apparently not anticipated such a poor response and made no alternative plans for recruiting the number of emigrants required to fill the first four ships. The Association was forced to seek assistance in recruiting passengers, apparently from

¹ Canterbury Papers, p. 46.

² The Association depended upon the land-purchasers to determine whether or not their nominated labourers were appropriate for colonization. See Minutes of Management Committee Meeting, 14 June 1850.

Caroline Chisholm. Because of this development the Association probably had a great deal less control over the type of emigrants traveling to Canterbury on Association ships than it had originally intended. Caroline Chisholm expressed her unwillingness to work for any 'sect' and she stated in her letter to Sidney Herbert that, "The offer (ostensibly from the Canterbury Association) was made to take a party from us just as they stood on our books, to make no stiff enquiry".³ It is doubtful that the Association retained much control in determining the character of the female emigrants who may have been recruited from the Family Colonization Loan Society. Therefore, while the Association had emphasized its intention to carefully select emigrants, this intention was apparently not realized. With the failure to attract the members of the "higher orders" of society, the entire plan to populate the colony with a cross-section of British society was irretrievably damaged.

Nevertheless, the Association did not, at least publicly, abandon its emigrant regulations. While the socio-economic status of the Association's female emigrants has been discussed above, how well did the female Canterbury Association emigrants, regardless of the nature of their recruitment, fulfill the other requirements which Wakefield's had set forth as being those of a "proper" emigrant? Wakefield's preference for married couples

³ Letter by Chisholm to Herbert, 19 September 1850. The Herbert Papers, Wiltshire County Record Office. See Appendix III.

became the chief means of controlling a gender balance within the population. The age of emigrants was also a determinant of acceptability, as was occupation for emigrants of the working class. How closely did the women bound for Canterbury on Association ships conform to these preferences?

Wakefield believed that a gender balance within the colony would be one of the key factors creating an acceptable colonial alternative to life in Britain for emigrating members of the middle and upper classes. In order for Canterbury to be a colony to which a husband could bring his wife and children in the likelihood that familiar circumstances would be at least as good, if not better, than the ones left behind in Britain, it was necessary that the number of males and females be kept somewhat equal. Wakefield had emphasized not only the salubrious social influences which the marital bond would help ensure in the colony, but also the advantages of the division of labour from which a married couple could benefit. The social orientation of the scheme could also include unmarried women, provided they were somehow attached to a male relative or employer. The most desirable emigrants were those who were married. For those who were not, Wakefield believed that their numbers should be limited so as to ensure a gender balance among the single males and females as well. This was officially expressed in the Association's Emigrant Regulation #3, which stated that "Passages will only be granted to Single Men subject to the

general rule that their number shall not exceed the number of Single Women in each Ship".⁴

Wakefield's conventional views on a woman's role as wife and mother, and the Association's emigrant regulations reflected their preference that women should travel with either a male family member or a male employer. In keeping with Wakefield's opinion that all women were in need of 'special protectors', the Canterbury Association officially expressed the desire that women either be married,⁵ or, if single, that they be travelling with an appropriate male companion.⁶

Unlike the Family Colonization Loan Society, which facilitated and organized emigration to Australia, the Canterbury Association did not choose to adopt a method for dealing with single, female emigrants who had no appropriate male traveling companion. The Family Colonization Loan Society, like the Canterbury Association, desired that all single female emigrants travel under the supervision of 'married relatives', but when a single women had no one with whom she could travel, the Family

⁴ Canterbury Association Emigrant Regulation #3, 'Canterbury Papers', p. 46.

⁵ The Association's Emigrant Regulation (#1) stated that "Young married couples will always be preferred to Single Persons". Ibid., p. 46.

⁶ The Association placed a special restriction on the acceptance of single women as passengers. The Association's Emigrant Regulation #2 stated that, "Passage will be granted to Single women, when emigrating under the immediate care of married relatives, or engaged as domestic servants to passengers on board; but not otherwise." Ibid., p.46.

Colonization Loan Society matched her with a couple travelling on the same ship in order to provide her with a chaperone.⁷ This process enabled single women to emigrate relatively independently, yet safely. The Canterbury Association however, did not adopt any comparable measure despite Wakefield's deeply held notions concerning women's vulnerability and need of protection. It seems, at least initially, that Wakefield's preference for married couples outweighed even the desire to attract as many persons as possible. The Canterbury Association accepted this preference and made no attempt to recruit single females in order to balance the number of emigrating single males or for the purpose of filling the ships for economic reasons.

Since women from the middle and upper classes were less likely than working class women to travel independently, it was the women from labouring class backgrounds who were most affected by the Association's restrictions regarding single women. Although many single and unattached working women desired to emigrate in order to improve their circumstances, this was a group to whom Wakefield and the Canterbury Association paid little attention. Although the contribution which labouring class women would make to the colony was briefly referred to by Wakefield in terms of its benefit to male colonists, it was never discussed independently. All references to women and colonization in Wakefield's writings were to those women of

⁷ Hammerton, A.J. Emigrant Gentlewomen, p. 102.

the middle and upper classes and their ability to contribute to the colony in relation to their male 'protectors'. The restriction which prohibited unattached, single women from traveling on Association ships indicates the degree to which Wakefield and the Association valued those women and the contribution they would make to the colony.

Wakefield and the Association had stressed that married women were preferred to single women as emigrants, and that all unmarried women were to have a male 'protector' to accompany them. How successful was the Association in achieving this goal?

Because of the original application forms which stated the social composition of each ship's emigrant group are unavailable, one must piece together information from the passenger lists which, in most cases, makes it relatively clear if a woman was traveling with her husband, with her parents, or with other family members sharing a common surname, such as a brother or sister. Most difficult to distinguish is whether or not those women who appear to have been traveling alone were actually traveling as part of some kind of unit, be it familial or occupational. Many women's names appear on the lists, particularly among the steerage passengers, who did not travel with anyone sharing the same surname and neither were they bracketed together with a person or persons of another surname to show they were traveling as a unit. This occasionally causes difficulties in determining the true nature of a female

emigrant's relation to other emigrants or whether or not there was any relationship at all.⁸

The Association's passenger lists indicate that the majority of women traveling aboard Canterbury Association ships travelled as the wives of male passengers. Only when a woman was shown to be traveling with her husband is it possible to be absolutely certain of her marital status. Occasionally, a women entitled 'Mrs.' traveled without a husband. In these cases, it cannot be determined whether or not she was traveling in order to meet with her husband, or if she was a widow, perhaps en route to live with already established family members. In both the cabin classes, 110 (or 58%) of the 190^{odd} adult female passengers ^{known to be} destined for Canterbury travelled with their husbands. In the steerage, 399 (or 68.7%) of the 580 female Canterbury passengers travelled with their husbands.

The number of married women traveling in the cabin classes decreased slightly over the course of the scheme and there occurred a proportional increase in the number of single women traveling in those classes. Although it is not possible to determine the reasons for this shift it is likely that this increase was due to a greater incidence of single women going out to meet family or relations who had

⁸ Throughout the lists the use of brackets makes it clear when a seemingly independent woman with an unmatched surname does actually belong within a family unit, i.e., an elderly widow traveling with her married daughter. Difficulties arise when the units are not familial in nature and no bracketing exists. This would occur with employer/employee units, especially when the two parties were likely to be traveling in different classes, and hence, be on separate passenger lists.

arrived by an earlier ship. Considering the inherent risks, not to mention the emotional upheaval likely from migration, it is probable that some family units opted to travel separately, in order to minimize potential difficulties. Although there is little proof that families did travel separately, this would seem a logical conclusion, particularly in the cases of those female passengers of the middle and upper classes who were very unlikely to be traveling to New Zealand for reasons of employment. Unfortunately there are very few notations within the passenger lists which positively state that a woman was going to meet her family. For example, in the case of a Miss Curtis traveling in the chief cabin class on board the William Hyde(# 22), a notation next to her name on the passenger list states that she was "going to New Plymouth to join family".⁹ The Association's vessels were among the best of those which travelled to New Zealand in terms of cleanliness, comfort and safety. Particularly for those women traveling alone in order to meet with an already established colonist, the elevated tone of the Association's literature and the presence of persons of the 'higher orders' of society, may have convinced whom ever was paying for the ticket that the Association ships would be the best choice for the journey, regardless of whether or not the female passenger was going to Canterbury.

Particularly for those persons with greater financial

⁹ Canterbury Association Passenger Lists, Canterbury Museum.

resources, the decision to go to the settlement separately would have made it an easier transition for all concerned. The male family member, often traveling with servants, could determine whether or not the settlement was a satisfactory place, and thereby prevent the female family members from making an unnecessary journey if it were found to be lacking. Also, the male family member could establish lodging and other resources and thus, create a better environment for later arriving females. This option, however, was much more difficult for members of the labouring class. Without the ability to afford servants, the male required the assistance which a wife, sister or daughter could provide during the early stages of settlement. The fairly substantial discrepancy between the number of single women traveling in the cabin classes and those traveling in the steerage can, possibly, be attributed to this difference.

Both adult daughters of passengers and those women traveling with family members, usually brothers, were welcome under Canterbury Association emigrant regulations. Adult daughters of passengers comprised a significant proportion of the women^{known to be} traveling to Canterbury, totalling 89, and equaling 11.5% of all female passengers destined for Canterbury.¹⁰ Those women traveling with another

¹⁰ Occasionally, very large families with several unmarried daughters would emigrate, and when in the cabin classes, they accounted for a major proportion of the female passengers in that class. For example, on board the Cressy (#3) there were seven single women in the fore cabin class. Six of these seven single women, however, were members of the Townsend family. All of the ten Townsend

family member, usually a brother, totaled 58 and equaled 7.5% of all female passengers^{known to be} destined for Canterbury. Thus, wives, daughters, and sisters combined totaled 656, or 85% of all adult female Canterbury-bound passengers. The substantial number of female passengers who conformed to Wakefield's and the Canterbury Association's desire that women travel with an appropriate male chaperone, can be partly attributed to the regulations which the Association imposed upon its prospective emigrants. The high level of conformity to Wakefieldian ideals, however, can also be attributed to the social necessity which dictated that a woman, particularly from the middle and upper classes, be attached to a male, upon whom she had to rely for economic support. Although a number of women, especially in the cabin classes, may have travelled relatively independently while en route to join other, already established, family members, it is likely that they had some sort of contact on board the ship, even if it were only a family servant berthed in the steerage class.

A few women do not seem to fit into any of the previously mentioned categories. Since they did not have their name bracketed to another passenger's, nor share a common surname with another passenger, it is likely that most were traveling with an employer or perhaps with their

children, between the ages of 14 and 35, were unmarried and all traveled in the fore cabin class. The daughters were; Mary(28), Francis(27), Alicia(24), Pricilla(19), Marcia(15), and Margaret(14).

fiance. Without the ability to determine whether or not a female passenger was traveling independently or with her sponsor/employer, it is impossible to know if she, in keeping with Wakefield's and the Association's desire, was under the 'protection' of a male passenger. Notes indicating an employer/employee relationship exist on only four of the 22 existing passenger lists. Thus, on the remaining 18 lists it is not possible to determine whether or not a women, who appeared to be traveling independently, was actually with her employer. Given the Association's regulations, which discouraged single women from traveling independently, and also given the unlikely possibility that very many independent women would desire to emigrate to New Zealand without any male companionship, it is probable that the majority of these single, labouring class women were actually traveling with employers. It is not known how this situation might have been altered by the recruitment of passengers from The Family Colonization Loan Society. Because of that society's policy of not sending single women without a chaperone, it is possible that few, if any, independent women were recruited from that source.

Thus, the Association's passenger lists indicate that Wakefield's and the Association's desire that women be accompanied on the journey by an appropriate male were realized. Unfortunately, this did not ensure that the primary goal of a gender balance was also realized. The ability of the Association to restrict passage to those women who traveled with an appropriate male may have been

relatively easy, given the social attitudes of early Victorian Britain and the economic dependency of most females on males. In this regard, the Association's regulation conformed to the overall trend in early Victorian society which restricted women's ability to act independently from male family members or employers. The Association met with less success in determining or maintaining the gender balance on board the ships. Here, the Association's regulation went against prevailing social trends. It was simply not financially viable to restrict the number of single male passengers to the number of single female passengers. In early Victorian Britain the number of males who desired to emigrate was much greater than the number of females.¹¹ Wakefield's and the Association's idealistic hope that equal numbers of single males and females would be attracted to the scheme was not realistic, particularly considering the restrictions placed upon the acceptance of single and unattached females.

The passenger lists indicate the degree to which the Association was unable to maintain a gender balance on board the ships. On only one ship was a balance between the number of single males and single females achieved.¹² On the remaining 21 ships with available lists, all had a gender imbalance which favoured males. On six of the ships, there were between two to three times more single males than single females, and on 12 of the ships there were at

¹¹ Hammerton, A.J. Emigrant Gentlewomen, p. 30

¹² The Midlothian (#15) with 19 single men and women.

least three times as many single males than single females. In total the Association carried¹³ 264 single females and 733 single males to New Zealand. Apparently, the Association's intention to carefully select emigrants in order to maintain a gender balance was impractical from the very beginning. Even on board the first four ships¹⁴ the gender imbalance was significant with 50 single females and 162 single males on board. Thus, despite the Association's intention that equal numbers of single females and males go to Canterbury, this did not occur. Social and financial considerations dictated that single male passengers would come to Canterbury in much higher numbers than single females.

While Wakefield and the Canterbury Association had emphasized the importance of a gender balance in the colony, they had made very little effort to appeal to those women who could have helped to correct such a gender imbalance. These were the single women of the working class who were very much more likely to desire emigration than their middle and upper class counterparts. Nevertheless, neither Wakefield nor the Association had much to say about female labourers. Because of the emigration fund and the opportunity for those members of the 'upper ranks' to select their labourers prior to departure, the majority of steerage passengers would, it was assumed, be carefully

¹³ On board the 22 ships with existing passenger lists.

¹⁴ The Charlotte Jane, Randolph, Cressy and the Sir George Seymour.

selected by their judicious employers. It was left to these employers to select those persons whom they felt to be suitable, not only as servants and farm labourers, but also as emigrants. This, much more than the formal acceptance process undertaken by the Association, was the means by which the majority of female labourers found themselves as Canterbury Association emigrants.

Information regarding the occupations of female passengers is available for 21 of the 22 existing passenger lists. Of the 788 women on board those ships, 157 (20%) were listed as having an occupation and, in all cases but two (who were unidentified), these women were either single or widowed. None of the 548^{14a} married female passengers were listed as having an occupation besides that of wife and mother. It seems rather unlikely, however, that not one pursued any remunerative activity, whether in or outside of the home.

The large majority of women with a listed occupation travelled in the steerage class. Of the 157 listed, 142 or 90.4% travelled in steerage while 12 (7.6%) travelled in the fore cabin and 3 (1.9%) were in the chief cabin. For those in the cabin classes it is possible to show that 8 of the ⁽¹²⁺³⁾ 15 were definitely traveling with their employers, and it is likely that this would be the case for more, if not all of them, considering the expense of the fare. Sarah Collins, aged 24 and a governess to Dr. Thomas Jackson, travelled in the fore cabin of the Castle Eden with the Jackson's children while Dr. and Mrs. Jackson shared a

^{14a} 548 of the 822 female passengers identified as being married.

chief cabin. A note next to her name on the passenger list reads "Mr. Jackson pays L10 extra for an intermediate berth".¹⁵ While this is the only clear example of an employer funding an employee's cabin class berth, it is very possible that this occurred for at least some of the other 16 working women in the cabin classes.

OCCUPATIONS

occupation	#	% of working women
domestic servant	131	83.44
governess	6	3.82
seamstress/dressmaker	6	3.82
nurse (maid)	4	2.55
schoolmistress	4	2.55
laundress	2	1.27
cook	2	1.27
dairywoman	1	0.64
housekeeper	1	0.64
	<u>157</u>	<u>1.00</u>

It is not surprising that the largest occupational group was that of domestic servant, with 131 (83.4% of working women) listed in that category. The majority of 124 travelled in the steerage while seven traveled in cabin classes. The term 'domestic servant' could mean a variety of things, varying from a general domestic labourer, usually the only one in the family, whose duties included a wide range of household chores, to a more specialized servant, most likely one of several in the household. In those households where a hierarchical system of domestic labour occurred, the more senior women were likely to be in positions of greater responsibility, the housekeeper being

¹⁵ Canterbury Association Passenger Lists. Canterbury Museum.

the most senior female staff member. Among the occupational listings only one housekeeper is listed; Charlotte Wood, a 47 year old widow traveling with her three children in the fore cabin of the Sir George Pollock. Unfortunately, no record is available of any employment link with another passenger. Her cabin class passage would suggest that she was accompanying her employer.

The second largest occupational group was that of governess/nurse.¹⁶ Of these ten, three were in the steerage compartment, four from the intermediate cabins and three from the chief cabins. The large number of governess/nurses in the cabin classes can probably be attributed to the desire of the employers to have their children cared for, not only once they reached the colony, but during the voyage as well.

Dressmaker/seamstress represented the largest number of women who were not 'in service' with six listed. The trade of dressmaker was one deemed acceptable for women, even for those women of better socio-economic status whose financial circumstances were reduced. Of the six seamstresses on Canterbury Association ships, all were housed in the steerage compartment, which was the only affordable class of accommodation for members of the working

¹⁶ The category of nurse, with four women listed, was defined as a separate occupation. However, the term governess and nurse were practically synonymous with the nurses actually being nurse-maids, whose responsibility was the care of children. If both the governesses and nurses carried out similar duties, then a combined category of governess/nurse would include ten women.

class.¹⁷

Without the original application forms, it is not possible to know the true nature of the occupational backgrounds of these working women and the level of experience they brought with them to New Zealand. Regulation #1 for the selection of emigrants, however, stated that "a preference will be given to farm servants, shepherds, domestic servants, country mechanics and artisans".¹⁸ Thus, some women, hoping to increase their chances for acceptance of their application may have made a statement of occupation which was one of intent rather than one of actual experience. Given the relative expense of the journey and the remoteness of the destination, it is not surprising that few labouring class women came to Canterbury. Particularly for those women not in domestic service and not traveling with their employers, the attractions of the Canterbury settlement were few, particularly due to the narrow scope of employment opportunities. Without any factories, an undeveloped manufacturing sector, and poor transportation, there existed only a small number of employment options for working class women in Canterbury.

Another aspect of emigrant selection which Wakefield and the Association sought to control was age at

¹⁷ According to Hammerton, "A 'respectable' cabin passage to Australia cost from L40 to L80, which was the usual annual salary range of a well qualified governess. Hammerton, A.J. Emigrant Gentlewomen, p. 57.

¹⁸ Canterbury Association Emigrant Regulations, 'Canterbury Papers', p. 64.

embarkation. The regulations, which stipulated that 40 years of age be the upper limit for acceptability, were designed for those passengers in the steerage, and not those in the cabin classes. According to the Association's Emigrant Regulation #4, emigrants were required to be "of less age than forty years, and unless emigrating under the protection of their families, of greater age than fourteen years".¹⁹

The majority of women traveling to New Zealand under the Canterbury Association scheme were young adults and the overall mean age at embarkation was 28.4 years. The ages of many female passengers are listed on the Canterbury Association passenger lists. However, the information for cabin passengers is much less complete than that for steerage.²⁰ In addition to the limited nature of the information one must also question the reliability of that information. Undoubtedly a few cases of outright deception occurred when girls, around 13 or 14 years of age had their ages 'reduced' in order to qualify for the half price children's fare. (available to those 1-12 years of age). Older women may have also felt it was in their best interest not to put their true age down on the application form in order that they might conform as closely as possible to Wakefield's ideal. Any other discrepancies, however, were probably small and were likely to have

¹⁹ Ibid. p.46.

²⁰ Ages of cabin passengers are available on 14 of the 22 lists and ages of steerage passengers are available on 20 of the 22 lists.

stemmed from inexactitude on the part of the emigrant herself. Widespread illiteracy among the poor and the sometimes informal record keeping practices resulted in incomplete and inaccurate knowledge of birthdates. Regardless of the possibility of some discrepancy between the actual age and that recorded on the Association's passenger lists, it appears as though the large majority of women were well within the desired age limits which Wakefield and the Association had adopted.²¹

Wakefield believed that youthful, married couples were superior emigrants. Even better, were those youthful, married couples who had no children. Emigration was undoubtedly a challenging and sometimes difficult experience even for those persons, whether married or single, who had only themselves to look after. The requirements involved in emigrating with children, especially young children, would have placed an additional set of demands upon women and could have considerably altered their emigration experience. Despite Wakefield's opinions on the subject, almost half of the women aboard Canterbury Association ships were mothers, with 374²² or 45.5 %, bringing at least one child with them. Because most of the women were young the children were also young with

²¹ Two fore cabin passengers on board the Charlotte Jane, Mary Anne and Susannah Bishop, were listed as being considerably younger than their actual ages. Susannah Bishop was listed as being 24 years of age when she was actually 37 and Mary Anne Bishop was listed as 27 when she was actually 40 years of age.

²² 374 of the 822 adult female passengers.

89% under the age of 14.

Within the three classes of accommodation on board the ships, the proportion of mothers varied little. In the steerage, 74.8% of married women were mothers. In the fore cabin, 61% of married women were mothers, and in the chief cabin, 70% of married women were mothers. In order to avoid the stigma which the early Victorians attached to unwed mothers, some single mothers may have been listed as married, but not traveling with a husband. Unfortunately, this is not possible to determine.

The overall average number of children per mother was 3.32, and within the three classes of accommodation there was little difference in that figure, the steerage average being 3.31 children per mother, 3.26 in the fore cabin and 3.57 in the chief cabin.²³

Approximately 138 adult children (aged 12 and over) traveled on Canterbury Association ships, with 98 in steerage, 13 in the fore cabins and 27 in the chief cabins. Unlike the younger children, the presence of adult children in a family could help ease some of the difficulties of the journey with extra able hands contributing to the tasks on board. For the mother with adult children, (particularly females) in the steerage compartment, where emigrants were responsible for their own cooking, cleaning and laundry, adult children would have been a definite asset. The mother of younger children, however, would have carried

²³ The slightly higher figure in the chief cabin can be largely attributed to the presence of one mother with 10 children. Without this, the figure would be 3.43.

alone the burden of domestic chores unless, of course, her husband was willing to share those duties with her.

Wakefield had pointed out that childless couples would find the journey much less taxing and more enjoyable than would couples with children. This, however true, would seem to be a rather idealistic notion given the nature of the motivations which caused many people to consider emigration. The Canterbury Association had directed a great deal of attention and marketing efforts towards parents, and in particular, towards fathers who could no longer be assured that their children would occupy the same level of social standing as he himself had occupied. Additionally, the promises of Wakefieldian amenities such as religious and educational institutions could have provided an attraction to those parents hoping to emigrate without depriving their children of the religious and educational opportunities they had received themselves. Few opportunities seemed to exist in Britain during the years of Association recruitment and the future looked increasingly bleak for members of the uneasy classes. The increased financial demands placed upon young families would have only accentuated the pessimistic feelings about the future in Britain. The appeal of greater opportunity and improved circumstances prompted many to consider emigration with the hope of securing a more prosperous future elsewhere.

Despite Wakefield's efforts to encourage childless couples to emigrate, the majority of married couples did

have children and most of those were young children. Financially more vulnerable either than childless couples who had to support only themselves or than couples with financially self-sufficient adult children, it seems logical that young parents would emigrate in large numbers. Although Wakefield and the Association had desired that young, childless, married couples comprise the majority of the colonists, this did not eventuate.

Another characteristic which the Canterbury Association sought to regulate was the religious affiliation of the emigrants. This, according to Wakefield, was the most critical factor in assuring both the quality of person attracted to the settlement, and the maintenance of a stable social order. Women, with their 'natural' superiority in moral and spiritual matters, were thought by Wakefield to be particularly important to the success of the settlement. Unfortunately, without the original application papers it is difficult to determine the religious affiliations of the female passengers. The existing passenger lists provide very little information on this topic, although within the journals of Mary Anne Bishop and Edward Ward there are frequent references to the occurrence of Anglican church services on board the Charlotte Jane. While it appears that the Canterbury Association was, at least initially, very concerned that all emigrants be members of the Anglican Church, their inability to attract a sufficient number of passengers prompted them to drop this qualification. Although the

religious affiliation of the passengers who may have been recruited from the Family Colonization Loan Society cannot be determined, it is possible that the religious affiliation of these passengers was not as well regulated as Wakefield or the Association had hoped. Although Caroline Chisholm stated that "I really believe we have more good members of their church on the books of the Loan Society than they have themselves", it is not possible to determine the degree to which they were recruited.

Despite the deficiencies of the Association's passenger lists, they are able to provide us with some indication as to how well the women destined to become the pioneer mothers of Canterbury conformed to Wakefield's ideals regarding the 'proper' sort of female emigrant. While the majority of the women did conform to Wakefield's and the Association's preference for married women, or those somehow attached to an appropriate male chaperone, this did not serve to ensure, as Wakefield had hoped, that a gender balance would be maintained in the colony. Although the other measures of conformity to Wakefieldian theory such as age at embarkation and whether or not a woman was also a mother are important in providing a better idea of the nature of the group of women who did come to Canterbury, the failure to attract sufficient numbers of women from the middle and upper classes and the resultant gender imbalance are the two most important indications that the Association did not create the type of colonial experience for women which Wakefield had presented in his

writings.

Despite the failure to achieve some of Wakefield's social goals, the Association did carry many women to Canterbury, and a significant number of these women were of the middle and upper ranks of society. Although the passenger lists can provide a certain amount of statistical information regarding the basic characteristics of the women on board, they cannot provide any depth in relating the emigration experience of any individual woman. In order to gain some insight into the lives of the women who traveled on the Canterbury Association ships and the degree to which some of them might have fit into the Wakefieldian notion of the 'proper emigrant', it is important to understand something of their personal experiences. On an individual basis the events and circumstances leading to their emigration were rarely recorded but by examining the information which is available about a small number of these women, within the context of mid-nineteenth century British history and the social conditions of the time as interpreted by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, we can better understand these women's lives and the factors which might have influenced the decision (whether their own or their husbands', father's, or brother's) to emigrate. Additionally, some insight into the lives of these women can reveal more about their apparent suitability for emigration and whether or not they were likely to be, according to Wakefield's and the Canterbury Association, the 'proper' emigrants.

CHAPTER V

Profile of Three Female Emigrants

The Canterbury Association, in creating its regulations on emigrant selection, accepted without question Wakefield's attitudes about women and their position within the social hierarchy which was to be created in the colony. Although the general regulations for age, marital status and gender were set forth as an affirmation of Wakefield's goals for emigrant selection, the desired aspects of a person's 'character', such as degree of religious devotion or ethical behaviour, were left unspecified in the written literature. Official acceptability of female emigrants on the basis of character was largely left to chance, particularly in the cases of those women traveling in the cabin classes. For those colonists who were land-purchasers (almost entirely men) their money was guarantee enough for the Canterbury Association and it appears that no inquiry was made regarding either their own suitability, nor that of any female family members, in terms of personality or character.

For those emigrants requesting assisted passages, the few requirements for their official acceptance could have

been easily met, particularly in the cases of those persons whom local officials viewed as undesirable residents.¹ In other words, little was done to delve deeply into the backgrounds of either the male or female emigrants to determine whether or not they were suitable, in the Wakefieldian sense, for colonization. This, however, is not surprising considering the difficulties a more intensive inquiry would have created. It is probable that the Canterbury Association believed that it had done what it could, given its limited resources, and that the number of emigrants from the 'higher orders' would create an environment conducive to good behaviour by assuming a role of leadership and control, and by expecting the deference normally shown to them in England by their social inferiors.

In terms of character and personality, how did the women aboard the Canterbury Association ships measure up to the high expectations which Wakefield and the Association had set for them? In his discussion of women as emigrants, Wakefield emphasized women's 'natural' spiritual and moral qualities and lauded those traits such as submissiveness and a sense of duty which he believed made not only for a better female colonist but for a better colony in general. One must question these traits, however, as realistic assessments of mid-nineteenth century women, and particularly of those women who were likely candidates for emigration. Also, one must examine the relative value of

¹ Local poor relief agencies were often used as sources of potential emigrants by less discriminating organizations.

those traits to the emigration and colonization process. Due to a limited amount of information, it is difficult to assess how these women conformed to the Wakefieldian ideal. In particular, it is difficult to assess the degree to which they conformed to Wakefield's expectations in terms of religious feeling, morality and their submissiveness within the male-dominated hierarchy which existed aboard each ship.

As noted, Wakefield expressed his belief that a secondary and supportive role for woman was ideal. Such a role was beneficial, not only within the confines of the emigration and colonization experience, but as a necessary ingredient for any ordered and civilized society. In accordance with this view, Wakefield believed that the opinion of a woman toward emigration was to be, at least initially, unformed and unbiased. Upon her husband's introduction of the topic, her attitude was then to be one of acquiescence and compliance. Despite his assertion that women did have a role in the traditionally outer sphere business of emigration, no acknowledgment was made of women's role in the decision making process of colonization. Wakefield had stated that "In colonizing, the woman's participation must begin with the man's first thought about emigrating".² Thus, he not only limited his vision of women's involvement in colonization to those women with male protectors (be they fathers, husbands, or

² Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p.842.

brothers), but also implied that their involvement would be one dependent upon the man's thoughts and directions. A woman's participation was to follow that of the male's 'thought' or decision to emigrate. He did not acknowledge any response other than one which would be fully supportive of the husband's wishes. Thus, despite Wakefield's protestations that in colonization, "women have a part so important that all depends on their participation in the work",³ this did not appear to include any actual involvement in the decision to emigrate. A woman providing anything but encouragement and support for her husband's decision to emigrate would have been viewed by Wakefield as straying from the realm of her inner sphere and the duty to support her husband in all matters.

Information about women and their role in the preliminary decision making process is very limited. Thus, it is difficult to determine the degree of input most women had in the decision to emigrate. It is likely that some of the women aboard Canterbury Association ships were enthusiastic emigrants. Given, however, the level of social and economic dependence which most women had upon men,⁴ it is possible that some women aboard the Canterbury Association ships found themselves emigrating for reasons which they themselves found hard to rationalize. A sense of duty and obligation to husbands, brothers or fathers, and a acute lack of viable alternatives may have forced many

³ Ibid., p. 840.

⁴ Hammerton, A.J. Emigrant Gentlewomen, p. 38.

women to accept the decision to emigrate very reluctantly.

Wakefield did not fully discuss the dynamics of decision making within the marital unit and refrained from exploring the potential conflicts which might arise between husband and wife over the subject of emigration. This topic, however, was discussed in an article written by a land purchaser from Canterbury who, in 1852, wrote an article to be published in Britain which encouraged others who might desire a colonial life, to consider Canterbury as an option. He wrote that,

Women are the steady enemies of emigration..., they have retarded the growth of these colonies, they have prevented far more emigration than has taken place, and yet the want of their society is the curse of the colonies...Should a husband see all this in the same light that I do, and touch on the subject of emigration, the chances are, he finds an opponent in his wife. If he persuades her of the benefits arising from such an act, she submits, but it is the submission of a woman who sacrifices herself for the good of her husband and the prospects of her children.⁵

Wakefield's notion of duty and sacrifice is, here, viewed in a much less positive way. This alternative view of the decision making process gives an indication that the reluctance to emigrate on the part of wives, and perhaps other dependent females, was not an uncommon sentiment. Written two years after the beginning of the scheme in Canterbury, by an author who, unlike Wakefield, could give

⁵ These excerpts taken from an article entitled, "The Canterbury Colony and its site and prospects". It was reprinted from Saunders Monthly Magazine for All India., Vol.1, 1852, pp. 357-373. Its author is unknown but it is known that he was an officer in the Indian army who purchased land in Canterbury. Likely possibilities are Sir John Cracroft Wilson, T.W. White, W.M. Mitchell.

a first hand account of colonial life, it seems likely that his comments reflected more accurately the true nature of the decision making process which faced potential emigrants.

For those women who were single and who were to be traveling with an employer, it is less likely that emotional reasons or feelings of duty were the chief incentive for emigration. It is more likely that these women viewed emigration in very practical terms. Considerations such as the maintenance of ties to their sole means of economic support, the hope for greater social and economic opportunities and the increased possibility of finding a suitable marriage partner, were more likely to be the primary reasons for emigrating.

Regardless of how the women found themselves as emigrants, it was Wakefield's and the Canterbury Association's intention that all females would be under the supervision of males and that women would recognize their proper, submissive roles, from the moment the ship set sail. Unfortunately, the very narrow definition which Wakefield and the Canterbury Association gave to the notion of a 'proper' female emigrant made it unlikely that a woman would be able achieve that status. The discrepancy between the idealized female colonist of Wakefield's writings and the true nature of the Canterbury Association's female passengers cannot be precisely determined. It is possible, however, to gain some insight into a few of the women's backgrounds, their personalities and their attitudes about

the undertaking and to then determine the degree to which Wakefield romanticized and simplified the role of women in the colonization process.

In many ways the ideal 'proper' emigrant of Wakefield's dreams - devout, passive, devoted to the well-being of her husband and children and sympathetic to those less fortunate than herself - is reflected in the ship board journal of Emma Barker.⁶ The majority of her journal entries deal with the concerns and opinions of a woman who has been raised to be a good, subservient wife and a concerned mother. The subject of her children fills most of the pages; their health, their activities, games, toys etc. Her husband's day to day activities (Dr. Barker was the surgeon superintendent aboard the Charlotte Jane) are mentioned only occasionally, with most attention paid to his seemingly endless seasickness. The weather, the discomforts and the little incidents which provided much welcome distraction from the monotony of shipboard life also provided material for written comment. With the self-involved family unit to occupy her time and energy, Emma Barker seemed to limit her exposure to new experiences. Within the pages of her ship board journal there are few remarks about her interactions with other passengers. Typical of her entries is the one for September 12, 1850. She wrote,

On Monday morning we were rushing through, as Dicky (her three year old son) said, 'hills of

⁶ C.C. Burdon Dr. A.C. Barker 1819-1873, Dunedin: McIndoe, 1972 88p.

water', everybody ill. I sat an hour with baby in my arms not daring to move, baby quite well waiting to be dressed, at last Alfred found a Scotch woman who offered to nurse him and the two boys. I lay all day in bed, the confusion of things tumbling down, water dashing in at your windows, and over the deck was tremendous...We arose next day a set of poor weak looking mortals and spent all day lying about the deck...We have however every reason to be thankful to God for bringing us safely through the rough parts.⁷

With a strong sense of religious faith to aid and comfort her, Emma Barker possessed another quality which Wakefield had discussed in his writings on the ideal female emigrant. She appears to have been selfless and subservient not only to her husband but to her God. A character to whom docility and submissiveness seem to have come quite naturally, Emma Barker wrote a journal which was impersonal in nature, and no clue is given about what she really thought about emigrating. It would seem, however, that emigration would not have been a choice she would have come to independently. With a shy and retiring personality, Emma Barker's involvement in the emigration process must have been less a matter of choice than one of personal duty to her husband and the welfare of her children.

During the course of the voyage when the ship crossed the 'line', a traditional ceremony - a visit from 'Neptune' and his entourage took place, at which first-time crossers of the line were initiated by a variety of means...from cold water dunkings for those to whom 'Neptune' was kindly disposed, to tar and featherings for those less favoured. The members of the chief cabin class

⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

would pool together resources and pay off Neptune in order to spare any of them from receiving his initiation rites. The response Emma Barker made to this relatively harmless event again demonstrates something of her timid and unadventurous nature. She wrote,

Who can describe the uproar of passing the Line yesterday? I sent up the children with Alfred and Mary Ann (Mary Ann Alfrey, her nursemaid) and locked myself in the cabin, thinking the children might get wet, but without any idea of what an uproad it would be and anxious to spare myself any excitement. As I sat there the shrieks and laughter were tremendous, then the water poured down in torrents all over, running down the ladder. Several women tried my cabin door to get refuge if possible, but I was too frightened to let anybody in.⁸

Even in comparison with other ladies present, this would seem to be overly timid behaviour, but given Emma Barker's upbringing it is not surprising that quiet reading, or needlework was more to her taste than the lively horseplay of her fellow passengers. For the daughter of a relatively well-to-do merchant from Hertfordshire, the options available to Emma and to other young ladies of her station were limited. While the more extreme restrictions on female activities in the way of prescribed forms of dress, manners, and behaviour were not as excessive and all-pervasive as they became in the later half of the century, for women of her social class, their lives, whether from rural or urban backgrounds, were centred around the home, the 'inner sphere'. Like most women of her class, it is likely that Emma Bacon was, until her

⁸ Ibid., p.35.

marriage, subordinate to her father. It is also likely that she remained under her parents roof, obeying her father and inferior to her male siblings. Theoretically, she was able to hold property and marry without her father's consent once she reached the age of twenty-one, but this independence was possible only for a woman of considerable property and a strong will.⁹ Since the early part of the century the ideal of middle class 'respectability' had become a leading social objective - a means of distinguishing oneself from the lower classes by imposing increasingly narrow guidelines for social behaviour which imitated the perceived behavioural traits of the upper classes.¹⁰ For the upper class and the increasingly self-conscious middle class, the notion of a woman working outside the home for financial gain was considered inappropriate behaviour - a reflection of her father's or husband's inability to provide sufficient support. Women from Emma Barker's station were strongly encouraged to concentrate only on those activities which were thought becoming to a lady (and potential wife) such as music, embroidery, reading - nothing too serious - and 'good works'. Most serious attention was paid to finding an appropriate husband. To the early Victorian middle class woman, a good marriage was the ultimate achievement, and in view of the fact that a woman's social and economic status

⁹ Holcombe, L. Wives and Property, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983 p. 74.

¹⁰ Dunbar, J. The Early Victorian Woman, London: G.C. Harrap & Co., 1953 pp. 18-23.

was derived entirely from that of the leading male figure in her life, first her father and then her husband, the emphasis upon marriage seems understandable.

The difficulty of finding an appropriate marriage partner was faced by Emma (nee Bacon). Unfortunately, her choice of partner was her first cousin, and because of this it was decided by her parents that the marriage should not take place. In 1845 Emma Bacon married Dr. Alfred Charles Barker, her second choice and a second cousin, who, despite his professional training in the field of medicine at King's College in London, does not appear to have been confident that he could achieve a comfortable life in his home town of Rugby.¹¹ His chosen career was medicine but it is clear that he was not truly devoted to the life of a physician.

According to Wakefield, men of the upper ranks of the middle class such as Dr. Barker, and other professionals, who possessed specialized training and skill, were not without their concerns for financial and social security. Wakefield emphasized their plight and included them as a part of the 'uneasy class'. He wrote that,

Distress is not confined to those who employ a material capital. The learning, skill and reputation, united, of a professional man, may be called his capital. Great professional capitalists, those who possess all at once great skill, great learning and a high reputation, still make large incomes, but none of those whose learning or skill, or reputation is small make enough to live upon... Nay, full, overflowing as are all these professions the number of young people who hope to live by them is far greater

¹¹ Burdon, C.C. Dr. A.C. Barker 1819-1873, p. 13.

than ever. It seems impossible that a third of them should ever live by the pursuits which they intend to follow, for even now two-thirds of the persons engaged in those careers live by snatching the bread out of each others mouths. Two thirds, therefore, at the very least, of professional men, may be reckoned among the uneasy class.¹²

Because she married a physician, a man of the professional class, Emma Bacon accepted that socio-economic status as her own, that of a professional's wife. In her case and in the cases of other women who married into the middle and upper ranks of the middle class, their lives revolved around domestic concerns - their home, their husband and children and fulfilling their social obligations - all in keeping with the increasingly rigid boundaries of 'respectability' which positively excluded the option of paid employment outside the home. Unfortunately, it did not appear, even to Charles Barker himself, that his prospects in England were sufficient to keep Emma Barker in a style to which she had become accustomed. Her status prevented her from taking on any work outside the home which could have made an important contribution to the family's income, and because of this inability to 'get ahead', it is not surprising that Dr. Barker, not a particularly ambitious man, should seek diversion, and a less competitive environment in a far away land. From outward appearances, Emma Barker seemed to be very close to Wakefield's ideal female emigrant. She would bring with her the civilizing influences so

¹² Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 354.

desperately required by a new colony and help to perpetuate the socioeconomic and sexual hierarchy which was to be transplanted from Britain to the colony. A true 'lady' such as Emma Barker undoubtedly had an important role to play in terms of her own family's success at adapting to a new home. She appears to have been selfless in her efforts to promote the goodwill of her husband and children. As a devoutly religious woman, she appears to have conformed almost completely to the Wakefieldian notion of the 'proper emigrant', yet one questions her real value in a new, untamed settlement where resourcefulness, self-confidence, determination and emotional strength were key ingredients to success. Instead of pushing herself to accept the challenges which emigration and colonial life presented to her, it appears that Emma Barker clung to her deeply held religious beliefs ever more tightly and remained safely within the boundaries of the 'inner sphere'.

The extent to which these religious beliefs influenced her colonial experience is illustrated in Burdon's description of her life once she and her family had become established in Christchurch. He stated that,

...life in the house in Worcester Street was beginning to assume a definite routine. In the morning the Doctor set out on his rounds while gentle Emma sat sewing, caring for the needs of her ever growing brood or, in the company of her friend, Miss Ann Bowen, poring over the pages of the Bible or some other good book. Occasionally she lamented the shortage of clergy in the colony which deprived her of the means of grace, 'though trusting that' as she put it 'she was in the world but not of it'. Her piety was so scrupulous that she was with difficulty persuaded to attend such dances as were held.

It was represented to her that it would harm the Doctor's practice if she held aloof from such innocent diversions. Finally a compromise was reached. It was agreed that she should take no part in the worldly motions of the dance.¹³

In 1858, only seven years after her arrival in Canterbury and shortly after the birth of her eighth child, Emma Barker died. According to her daughter Elizabeth, "she had seemed pale and frail, the damask roses on her cheeks had faded. As she went on her errands of charity and mercy to others whom she felt were less fortunately situated than herself, she had seemed oppressed with care, encircled by mortality."¹⁴

While no conclusions can be drawn about Emma Barker's death and its relation to colonial life, it is possible to say that while she may have conformed very well to Wakefield's ideas about the proper female emigrant, it does not seem that she was really well suited for colonial life. While the young settlement may have benefitted from her 'civilizing influence', her retiring personality did not seem to allow her to step beyond the boundaries of her old way of life and to rise to the challenges which colonial life presented to her.

Another woman who also appeared to possess many of the qualities which Wakefield and the Canterbury Association sought in their female emigrants was Mary Anne Bishop. A young, unmarried woman traveling with her sister, brothers

¹³ Burdon, C.C. Dr. A.C. Barker 1819-1873, p. 56.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

and their families, Mary Anne Bishop was only one of thousands of 'young ladies' during the early Victorian era, who, belonging to the uneasy class, must have realized that the probability of finding an appropriate marriage partner was becoming increasingly small, and thus that the probability of remaining a spinster was proportionally large. According to Wakefield, this fate had reached such widespread proportions that "This is one of the most important features in the social state of England".¹⁵ Wakefield dealt briefly with the subject of unmarried women of the uneasy class and the more general problem of unmarried women as yet another symptom of the 'excessive competition' which stemmed from overpopulation. Colonization, he asserted, was a means by which those women who were 'condemned to forego the joys and marriage and maternity' could perhaps have a second chance at finding success. By acknowledging the problem facing these women as a serious one, and one not likely to be quickly remedied, he provided weight to the argument that these women might be better off by emigrating. Although Wakefield's words were directed at the fathers of unmarried daughters, they may have struck a chord of recognition with Mary Anne Bishop's brothers. Spinsters, according to Wakefield, were welcome additions to a new colony, provided that they were accompanied by a suitable male chaperone. Perhaps Mary Anne's brothers viewed Mary Anne's emigration as the most

¹⁵ Pritchard, The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, p. 354.

logical solution to her 'problem' status of spinster.

Victorian spinsters were generally regarded by their contemporaries as human failures and often led lives of futility, ridicule or humiliation. As one recent historian has pointed out,

The unmarried woman was an important source of humor in music halls and in operettas. Society trained women for one function, marriage, and then mocked those who sought this idyllic state after having reached maturity. No longer innocent and ignorant, it was obscene and comic in performances that a middle-aged woman should still want marriage - or that any man would want her.¹⁶

In the middle to upper ranks, such as in Mary Anne's case, unmarried status usually meant dependence on the family for support and sustenance. In return, spinsters were expected to act as surrogate wives for bachelor brothers, and as child minders and nurses for other members of the family. In general, the lives of unmarried women from middle and upper class households were ones of dependence and deference to those responsible for their financial upkeep.¹⁷

In Mary Anne Bishop's case, it appears as though there were few options available to her besides choosing to emigrate with her brothers. Left in England, the burden of her financial upkeep most likely would have fallen on her parents. It is probable that her brothers, her parents and perhaps even Mary Anne herself decided that she would be most useful in Canterbury helping to establish her brothers

¹⁶ Jalland, P. Women, Marriage and Politics 1860-1914, Oxford:University of Oxford Press, 1988 p.38.

¹⁷ Horn, P. Victorian Countrywomen, p. 12.

and their families. From her journal it seems that she herself did not desire to emigrate but that her sense of duty made it difficult for her to refuse.¹⁸

Within the pages of the ship board journal Mary Anne Bishop kept during her voyage on the Charlotte Jane, it becomes apparent that the journey to Canterbury was not her own desire. She appears to have emigrated only because she felt it was her duty to do so. As a spinster, it is probable that Mary Anne's brothers, Charles and Edward Bishop, were, or were to become, financially responsible for Mary Anne. Perhaps as their father approached the age of retirement, the responsibility for Mary Anne, and her younger sister, who was also unmarried, was being transferred to them. The brothers might have convinced Mary Anne that it was best for her to join their emigration plans but we cannot know what, if any, pressures were put upon her to 'repay' her upkeep by coming to Canterbury in order to be of as much use to them as possible.¹⁹ It appears that the feeling of obligation to her brothers, particularly her bachelor brother Edward, was the prime factor in her decision to go. She wrote that,

You will perceive that I am not unhappy, but that my own inclination and wishes are still in England; in the land of my fathers would I dwell. This is denied me for some wise end. I must be

¹⁸ M.A. Bishop, Journal of Mary Anne Bishop 1850-51, New Zealand Collection, Canterbury Public Library. 62p.

¹⁹ It is clear that Mary Anne's parents objected to emigration. She wrote, "To be thoroughly happy from England I never can as long as memory bears in mind the objection my beloved parents had to emigration. I thought my heart would break". Ibid., p.2.

submissive. It is a happiness to see Edward well and happy.²⁰

This demonstration of selflessness and submissive deference to her brothers wishes corresponds well to the Wakefieldian ideal of the 'proper emigrant'. This seemingly proper emigrant, however, was not a very willing emigrant and went to Canterbury, largely because no viable alternative existed for her. Additionally, her motivations for going do not appear to have been for her own sake, but for the sake of her male caretakers. Thus, with less flexibility or choice than a unmarried working class woman traveling with an employer, Mary Anne Bishop was virtually forced into emigrating, chiefly due to her elevated social status and the demands which Wakefield, and society in general, placed upon women of that status to remain submissive and without any means of attaining financial independence. Mary Anne's fears for her future, and that of her brothers was expressed in her journal entry of September 3, 1850. She wrote, "I pray this gigantic speculation of my brothers will not turn to our ruin, and may God give us strength to bear with our tribulations".²¹

Nevertheless, there may have been some positive aspects to the decision for Mary Anne Bishop. Perhaps the opportunity to leave behind a somewhat unsatisfactory life in England helped her to overcome her reluctance. The additional possibility of finding a marriage partner might

²⁰ Ibid., p. 62

²¹ Journal of Mary Anne Bishop, p. 1.

have also attracted her to the idea. Regardless of how she weighed up the pros and cons of emigration, it appears as though Mary Anne Bishop decided to make the best of her situation. Within her journal are examples of an optimistic outlook and very little self-pity. Her ability to enjoy some of the pleasures of the voyage is illustrated in her journal entry for Nov. 21st, 1850. She wrote,

We have gone 375 miles in two days, the sea is rough and wind high, passed the eve very pleasantly 12 of us; the rolling of the vessel caused a little fun cramped in so small a space --(Dec 2nd) Miss M.'s brother fastened us in our cabin by putting a plank before it. These little meetings are very pleasant. We meet after prayers and they tend to promote the harmony which reigns amongst us.²²

Despite the appearance that Mary Anne Bishop was a 'proper' emigrant and had met Wakefield's and the Canterbury Association's expectations, it seems that she was not exactly what she appeared to be. The official Canterbury Association shipping records list Mary Anne Bishop as being 27 years of age. In reality, she was 40 years of age when the Charlotte Jane set sail and her sister Susannah, listed as being 24, was actually 37 years of age. Because these false ages were listed in a variety of places within the papers, it is unlikely that they can be attributed to a simple clerical error.²³ It is more likely that Mary Anne's brothers, and perhaps Mary Anne

²² Ibid., p.21.

²³ Mary Anne Bishop's marriage certificate from 1858 verifies that her true age at embarkation was 40. See Records of Marriage, St. Michael's Church, Christchurch, New Zealand Collection, Canterbury Public Library.

herself, were determined to conform as closely as possible to the regulations for emigrant selection which the Canterbury Association had created. Being 40 years of age (40 was the upper age limit for free and assisted steerage emigrants, not cabin class passengers) and a spinster, it is quite possible that there were concerns among the Bishop party that Mary Anne would not be an ideal emigrant. We do not know how Mary Anne or her sister felt about the necessity to conform to Canterbury Association emigrant regulations or if they might have been less favoured by the Association if their true ages had been known. Given her reluctance to emigrate, it is possible that Mary Anne welcomed any potential obstacles which might have prevented her departure. In apparent deference to her brother's wishes, however, her age was altered in order that their acceptability as a group not be put into question.

Mary Anne Bishop's apparent willingness to not only do what was best for her brothers, but also to make the best of her own colonial experience indicated that she was able to confront life's challenges and to adapt her own behaviour in order to survive as well as possible. This is illustrated in an entry from her journal dated April 28, 1851, when she and her brother Fred were living in a small house in Lyttelton. She wrote that,

I have knocked by finger sadly in helping Fred to chop wood. I am collecting odd shaped pieces of wood to make a garden chair. We must turn all our inventive ideas to account here. Another reason also: on the Plains wood is very scarce. The bush here is within reach and gives us an opportunity of getting what we want. I have got wood for a garden stool. I am sure you would

laugh to see me so busy.²⁴

Mary Ann's willingness to take on new challenges, and to leave behind the dictates which British society imposed upon women of her class is also illustrated in an entry from her journal dated April 16, 1851. She wrote that,

There is a vessel of emigrants coming here from Adelaide and as soon after their arrival as possible a sale of land is to take place, as some rich folk are expected to come who will want to build. I hope they will not be disappointed. It is very certain unless a person has money it is useless emigrating except for the labourer. People have an idea that abroad you can do anything: not so, pride, the position in life you are accustomed to move in follow you there and tho one may do many things never done before, yet you cannot forget what you are. Every other day I fetch some milk. Mr. Templer saw me with the mug and could not know me, but I snap my finger as such poor, paltry friendship as this.²⁵

While Mary Anne Bishop's journal also expresses some of her disappointments with colonial life, her resourcefulness and determination helped her to overcome the difficulties. Although information is scarce, it is known that on December 8, 1858 she was married at St. Michael's Anglican Church in Christchurch to Edward Knapman, a veterinary surgeon.²⁶ They resided on Durham Street North until her death in late August, 1877 at the age of sixty-six.

The social and sexual hierarchy and the notion of female submission to male authority which was so central to Wakefield's theory was maintained during the voyages on

²⁴ Bishop, M.A. *Journal of Mary Anne Bishop*, p. 54

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁶ reference to Church records

Canterbury Association ships. Within the cabin classes, 'proper' behaviour was largely self-regulated. Particularly for those male, middle and upper class colonists whose elevated status depended upon such a hierarchy, it was important that this hierarchical system be imposed as soon as each ship set sail.²⁷ During at least the initial stages of the scheme, it appears that those persons whose positions were most dependent upon the traditionally male-oriented hierarchy soon adopted a dominant position on board the ships and proceeded to reinforce that hierarchy whenever they saw fit. This seems to have been especially true in relations between the classes. Records demonstrate that frequent difficulties based on issues traditionally associated with class conflict arose on board many of the

²⁷ An interesting illustration of the attempt to maintain a 'proper' environment on board the ships, (i.e., to impose the social and sexual hierarchy which Wakefield wished to transplant to Canterbury) occurred on board the Charlotte Jane. According to the Journal of Edward Ward, Ward and a group of cabin class men were dismayed to discover that two 'ladies' had stayed out on the deck until midnight. His entry of 8 Oct 1850 stated that, "On deck till late playing a round of rhyme impromptu. Some verses being better suited to the hour of midnight than the ears of ladies, to our horror we discovered afterwards must have been heard by two ladies who were sitting in a dark corner not far off". Six days later, by means of the ship's newsletter, 'The Cockroach' the Captain, according to Ward, "remarks upon the unusual conduct of some of the ladies in staying on deck till twelve o'clock." Two days later, with no apparent success in preventing the ladies from staying out on deck until late, Ward wrote, (16 Oct. 1850) "Decks washed down at half past ten tonight, as the last means of keeping below the ladies who persist in refusing to take the hint that it is very improper to stay late on deck." See E. Ward, The Journal of Edward Ward, pp. 43,49,51.

Canterbury Association ships.²⁸ While some involved work strikes and demands for higher wages, others were relatively minor. Generally, the source of conflict stemmed from the desire on the part of the male cabin class passengers to maintain the social status quo within which they were so favoured and quell any raised hopes and expectations on the part of the working class passengers for greater personal freedom and social mobility.

For a woman such as Margaret Ferguson, an independently minded servant in the steerage berths, the journey to Canterbury aboard the Charlotte Jane was not, perhaps, as independent a venture as she would have liked. And she, in turn, would probably not have ideally fitted Wakefield's notion of the proper female emigrant. While records suggest she actively sought emigration, her poverty precluded her from purchasing her own ticket.²⁹ She required the sponsorship of a land purchaser and found one in Mr. Edward Ward. Although the precise nature of the agreement between Margaret Ferguson and Edward Ward is unknown, it is unlikely that any bond existed between the

²⁸ Both Edward Ward and Mary Anne Bishop relate incidents on board the Charlotte Jane which involved class-oriented conflict. This included the labourers attempting to fix wages once they reached New Zealand, and striking work on board ship. In all cases control was assumed by the cabin class males and the issues were settled in their favour. See The Journal of Edward Ward, p. 73-74. and 'The Journal of Mary Anne Bishop', p.24.

²⁹ All references to Margaret Ferguson come from The Journal of Edward Ward. See E. Ward, The Journal of Edward Ward, p.54.

two parties.³⁰ Thus, Margaret Ferguson had no obligations to Edward Ward either on board the ship, or once she reached the settlement. The Canterbury Association made it clear that a sponsored emigrant was under no obligation to work for his or her patron upon arrival. The regulations stated that,

When the Emigrants arrive at the Canterbury Settlement, no further payment will be required of them. They will be at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, and to make their own bargain for wages. The only return expected for assistance granted to them is a strict observance on board of the Regulations framed with a view to their health and comfort during the voyage and general good conduct and industriousness habits in the colony.³¹

Mr. Edward Ward, a land-purchaser going out to Canterbury with his two younger brothers, brought with him, in addition to Margaret Ferguson, several other persons, including two families. What little is known of Margaret Ferguson comes from the diary kept by Edward Ward during the voyage. Although the details are few we can gain some general insight into her condition and, by inference, into the conditions of so many women like her who left Britain as domestic servants under the patronage of a Canterbury land-purchaser.

For Margaret Ferguson and thousands of other young women in mid 19th century Britain, domestic service was the

³⁰ Edward Ward negotiated employment agreements with his employees just before landing at Lyttelton. See The Journal of Edward Ward, p.82.

³¹ Canterbury Association Emigrant Regulation #21. 'Canterbury Papers', p. 46.

most viable employment option for them. At a time when middle class respectability was largely measured by the number of domestic staff maintained, and the existence of large families required the employment of additional labour, the demand for servants, in both rural and urban areas was great.³² In the rural areas which lacked alternatives such as factory labour, an impecunious young women had little choice but to serve as a domestic if she needed paid employment. In the urban areas many saw domestic work as being more acceptable than factory work in that it retained women in a traditionally female work environment.

By 1850 domestic service was, after agricultural labour, the largest source of employment for women in Britain and up to one third of all women in Britain had worked as servants at some point in their lives.³³ In many cases, domestic employment would begin at an early age, 13 or 14 years, and continue until marriage (hereafter it might be continued on an altered basis). With very few exceptions, employment, for working class women, was not a goal in and of itself. It was only a means to an end, and that end was marriage. In early Victorian society, as in pre-modern British society, womanhood was not something to be attained through work (as manhood was for men). A girl became a woman only when she married. Thus, there was little motivation to work for its own sake because it was

³² Horn, P. Victorian Countrywomen, p. 33.

³³ Ibid.

only through marriage that a women could secure her economic position in society. Domestic work was a means by which a young woman could not only maintain a traditionally female role, but perhaps improve her fortunes as well. In particular, domestic work provided a way not only of escaping from poor conditions, especially in rural areas, but also of being able to meet a wider range of potential marriage partners, perhaps even from a better socio-economic class than that from which the single woman had come.

By ascending from a position of general servant in a lower-middle class household to a more specialized domestic position within an affluent household, and perhaps in the process, moving from a rural to an urban area, a young women could become exposed to a very different existence. Even in a solidly middle class household a working class woman could gain skills which could enhance her marriage prospects (e.g., knowledge of household management and new standards of cleanliness). This increased exposure to not only broader geographic, but also socio-economic horizons, was increasingly sought by mid-nineteenth century working class women who were beginning to aspire, like their middle class sisters before them, to greater, albeit still very limited, social mobility.³⁴ The development of a market mentality , and the interest in maximizing self-interests had begun to influence women and this created not only a new sense of identity, but also prompted new behaviours

³⁴ Hammerton, A.J. Emigrant Gentlewomen, p. 32.

which often involved a break with traditional surroundings. Thus, the urban areas attracted great numbers of domestic servants, particularly as the rural, family based economy was so threatened. And beyond that, overseas emigration provided an opportunity for those who felt either particularly adventurous or particularly pessimistic about their future in Britain.

In Margaret Ferguson's case, it seems that her circumstances in Britain were less than ideal. The information about her past is limited to what was written by Edward Ward. Nevertheless, it does provide us with some insight into her general position in society and something about her personality. In Edward Ward's shipboard journal the entries between September 14, and October, 21, 1850, chronicle some of the events and conflicts in which Margaret Ferguson became involved. In particular, one incident involved her quarrel with Margaret Wilson, another of Ward's more senior charges who, apparently, felt that Margaret Ferguson was not contributing her fair share by refusing to help with Margaret Wilson's children. On Saturday, September 14, 1850, Edward Ward wrote that,

Margaret (Wilson) reports that Margaret Ferguson has struck work and when asked to hold the children and make herself useful, tells her that she is not her servant and won't do it. This, after all the trouble Margaret has been at for her and Robert Wilson too, to take her out of poverty and destitution in Ireland, is the blackest and basest ingratitude.³⁵

Again, Ward noted on October 21, 1850 that,

³⁵ Ward, The Journal of Edward Ward 1850-51, p. 53-54.

Today Margaret Ferguson came into my cabin, and in a flurried, angry way asked whether she was bound to attend to Margaret Wilson's children on board the ship, for she got no time to earn anything by flowering with attending to them.³⁶ She had hardly finished her speech when Margaret Wilson came in and confronted her and after some sulky words from Margaret Ferguson and recrimination from Margaret Wilson, I told Margaret Ferguson that I considered that the return she was bound to make to me for having taken her out was to help Margaret Wilson in every way she could. I asked her if this was not common gratitude for what had been done for her, that, only for Margaret Wilson, she would have been left, unprotected and helpless in Ireland and that she had intreated me to take her when I was quite unwilling to burden myself with so many. She seemed not at all touched but obstinate and sullen. Margaret declared that she never offers to help her or Robert with the children and whenever she is asked to do it she either refuses or does it unwillingly. If she persists in refusing I can easily punish her by stopping her means of making any money on board and my withdrawing protection from her when she arrives.³⁷

Unfortunately, no personal correspondence has been left by Margaret Ferguson, but it is not too difficult to imagine the rebellious feelings she must have possessed along with the desire to escape from poverty and subservience, and to be able to make money on her own terms. From Edward Ward's journal it is clear that Margaret Ferguson's existence in Ireland was less than ideal, and it is probable that for many other single, working class women in similar circumstances, the idea of emigration was

³⁶ Ward paid his charges a small amount for completing hand work, such as sewing and embroidering - to keep them occupied and to enable them to earn a bit. This is referred to in the Journal of Mary Anne Bishop, p. 13. She states that, 'Mr. Ward amuses his servants by giving them collars and caps to work, allowing them a trifle...'

³⁷ Ward, Journal of Edward Ward 1850-51 p.53-54.

associated with the hope of improved economic and social conditions. Greater personal freedom, whether gained from better working conditions or through marriage could have been a prime factor in motivating women of Margaret Ferguson's station to leave Britain behind. The initial disappointment in seeing these hopes thwarted and a lack of enthusiasm to continue their traditional subservient roles may have been a common occurrence for other women in similar circumstances.

While Edward Ward's version of the story portrays Margaret Ferguson as ungrateful, Margaret Ferguson herself clearly did not believe gratitude necessary. Her efforts to break free from her subservient role were met with opposition from her patron, who, a seemingly fair man much concerned with the welfare of his charges was, nevertheless, determined to keep Ferguson in her proper place. Margaret Ferguson's ambitions to work for herself and earn her own money were foiled, at least until she set foot on dry land.

It is probable that both Wakefield and the members of the Committee of Management of the Canterbury Association, like Edward Ward, would have found Margaret Ferguson's behaviour to be 'ungrateful', 'obstinate' and 'sullen', and hence, unbecoming her status as a woman and as one of those selected to populate the new colony. We do not know of Margaret Ferguson's religious or moral beliefs, but this glimpse into her life suggests that she did not behave in keeping with a spirit of Christian charity, at least from

Edward Ward's point of view. For working class women such as Margaret Ferguson, who were not likely to contribute superior spiritual and moral values to the colony, there was no mention of the value they brought to the colony in terms of their energy, skills and labour. From Ward's journal it is evident that Margaret Ferguson did want to work, but only on her own terms and in order to earn some money. Within Wakefield's scheme, however, it was preferred that women be married, and married women, as a rule, did not work outside of the home. The subject of women working for financial gain was never addressed by Wakefield and was implied only once within the Canterbury Association literature when 'domestic servant' was listed as an occupation which the emigrant selection committee would favour when considering applications.³⁸

Given the strong emphasis placed on middle and upper class emigrants, it is not unusual that Wakefield omitted the subject of working women from his discussion of women in general. Nevertheless, it does seem unusual that such a narrow and idealized vision could be considered plausible and attainable. It would appear that Wakefield was chiefly interested in maintaining a vision of an established colony in order to reassure the 'higher order' or colonist that they would not be without those amenities so valued in a civilized society. Hence, very little was said regarding the hard work involved in building a new settlement, and

³⁸ See Canterbury Association Emigrant Regulation #1, 'Canterbury Papers', p. 46.

certainly, none of the pitfalls which might confront the colonist. Any mention of physical effort was couched in glowing terms, Wakefield wrote that,

The life of a settler, when colonization prospers, is a perpetual feast of anticipated and realized satisfaction. The day is always too short for him; the night passed in profound, invigorating sleep, the consequence of bodily fatigue in open air, not to mention the peace of mind.³⁹

This glorified tone, which Wakefield used to describe almost every aspect of colonization, is indicative of the degree of idealism he assumed in creating his theory and the degree of idealism the prospective colonists needed to assume if they were to believe in his vision of Canterbury as a "Belgravia of settlements"⁴⁰ It appears, however exaggerated his declarations may now seem, that many did accept this vision and did not question the very limited and idealized qualities he attributed, not only to women, but to the colony itself. For those men, like Edward Ward, who had made a considerable financial and emotional investment in the Canterbury scheme, it is not surprising that they thoroughly embraced that idealism and immediately took it upon themselves to assume a leadership role in the community and then attempted to control the behaviour of other passengers whose subservience was required in order that the scheme develop in the manner they, Wakefield, and the Association had envisioned.

For Wakefield and those persons most committed to his

³⁹ Wakefield, The Art of Colonization, Letter XX.

⁴⁰ See 'Canterbury Papers', p. 7.

scheme (male land purchasers) female labourers were almost insignificant. Their contribution to the settlement process did not stem from any superiority in religious and moral matters and thus, they did not fit the role of ideal female colonist. Their role received very little recognition within the scheme, and despite their numbers and the sheer amount of labour they must have contributed to the colony, they have been largely forgotten. Nevertheless, it was Margaret Ferguson and not Emma Barker or Mary Anne Bishop who actually desired to emigrate. While we cannot say with certainty that Emma Barker did not want to emigrate, it seems probable, given the lack of any enthusiastic comments in her journal, that she would have preferred a life in England. We do know that Mary Anne Bishop did not personally choose emigration, but accepted it as part of her duty to her family. Thus, while no conclusions can be drawn relating to other women on Canterbury Association ships, it is interesting to note that in relation to Mary Anne Bishop and Emma Barker, who fit Wakefield's ideal of 'proper' female emigrant, there was little, if any, desire to emigrate. Margaret Ferguson, in contrast, did not play a significant role in Wakefield's scheme due to her working class status. It was she, however, who actually desired to emigrate and took it upon herself to find the means of accomplishing that goal.

It is highly unlikely that a working class woman such as Margaret Ferguson would have found Wakefield's glowing descriptions appropriate to her own colonization

experience. The words Wakefield and the Canterbury Association used to appeal to the middle and upper classes were not necessarily those which would have appealed to a female labourer whose most pressing concern was simple economic survival. There is little chance that those female labourers who did come to Canterbury found everyday life to be "a perpetual feast of anticipated and realized satisfaction", as Wakefield had suggested. The benefits of churches and schools may have been relatively insignificant to those women whose primary concern would have necessarily been more related to economic survival than to educational or spiritual pursuits.

Unlike Mary Anne Bishop and Emma Barker, Margaret Ferguson left no written record of her emigration and colonial experiences and therefore, it is not possible to know her feelings and motivations. Records do show, however, that Margaret Ferguson was married just over one year after she had arrived in Canterbury to a Captain Balfour Rendell. On January 1, 1852, she and Captain Rendell were married in the Temporary Church in Lyttelton with Robert and Margaret Wilson as witnesses.⁴¹ The record states that "the Bride signed with her mark 'x'". No further baptismal or death records exist in Canterbury under the name of either Balfour or Margaret Rendell and this indicates that they left Canterbury. Thus, while Margaret Ferguson may not have fitted Wakefield's notion of

⁴¹ Marriage Records, Temporary Church, Lyttelton 1850-53, New Zealand Collection, Canterbury Public Library.

the ideal emigrant, emigration was apparently a positive move for her. She managed not only to escape from the drudgery of a domestic servant's life, but also, as her husband's title suggests, to marry into a socio-economic class above her own.

While Margaret Ferguson seems to have been fortunate in her initial experiences as a colonist, no details of her story are known. It is not possible to know just what she did during the year she spent in Canterbury or how she felt about it. Other sources of information, however, can provide some insight into the circumstances which other women might have found themselves once they had arrived in Lyttelton. This information, although limited, suggests that despite Wakefield's and the Association's efforts, the reality of colonization was not as simple and enjoyable as they had described it to be. In particular, the narrow role of women which Wakefield had envisioned in the new colony was not necessarily the most expedient, nor the most beneficial.

CONCLUSION

Although it is not possible to provide more than a very basic sketch of the female emigrants of the Canterbury Association and their conformity to Wakefield's image of the 'proper' type of emigrant, it is possible to assess Wakefieldian theory in terms of its views regarding female colonists, the benefits which these female colonists would supposedly bring to Canterbury and the value of these benefits to the colonization process. Despite the apparent failure of the Canterbury Association to recruit sufficient numbers of passengers on their own, this did not necessarily mean that some of Wakefield's hopes about the character of the female passengers went entirely unfulfilled. Over one-quarter of all female passengers traveled in the cabin classes. Their socio-economic status, if nothing else, indicates that Wakefield and the Association met with at least some success in promoting Canterbury as an acceptable settlement for those men of the 'uneasy class', their wives and families. It is probable that many of the women who did come to Canterbury, especially in the cabin classes, would have met with Wakefield's satisfaction. Unfortunately their numbers, due to the low land sale figures and the substantial number of persons going to settlements other than Canterbury, were insufficient to keep the Association afloat.

In March of 1853, the last Canterbury Association vessel, the Tasmania, arrived in Lyttelton. During the previous two and a half years, approximately 893 women had been transported to New Zealand by the Canterbury Association. The financial difficulties, which during the early stages had almost prevented the scheme from getting off the ground, continued to plague its progress until June, 1852, when the New Zealand Constitution Act was passed and Canterbury was able to become a self-governing province.¹ Up to this date, low land sale figures and the resulting low revenues had severely hindered progress in building the promised educational and religious facilities. The churches and schools which both Wakefield and the Association had featured as being among the chief benefits of the scheme had not been built when the first settlers arrived, nor were many of them to be built for a considerable time. The lack of funds and the inability of the Association to fulfill its promises caused disappointment among many of the emigrants who believed that these facilities would be completed and ready for use when they arrived in Lyttelton.

Although it is not possible to determine any linkage between the Association's initial inability to provide promised facilities and low emigrant numbers, it is conceivable that unfavourable reports sent back to England by the Association's very earliest emigrants had an adverse effect on the Association's subsequent success in

¹ Straubel, C.R., A History of Canterbury, p. 206.

attracting emigrants to Canterbury. Evidence of this disappointment and a possible linkage with low emigrant numbers can be found in the journal of Mary Ann Bishop. She expressed her personal disappointment with the Association's failure to fulfill its obligations, not only regarding the churches and schools which it had planned to build, but with its failure to provide other amenities which it could no longer afford. She wrote that,

Many here are in trouble too, for Mr. Godley has been on board the vessels and stopped the provisions, telling all that they are to pay each 5/-per day and their servants 2/6 for every day they remain on board. He has done this in the name of the Association; shame on them all in England; they said we were to remain on board 28 days after our arrival, to give us time to seek for shelter; no, they get us out and send you adrift. What matters as long as they have your money? In going to Sumner (unless you go over the stupendous hills) you are obliged to go round by water. In doing so there is a bar which when rough & at all times is dangerous. Mr. Barker has tried to get his goods round in a boat & after an absence of 3 days all came back. Charles & the two Mr. Fishers went; they were obliged to jump into the water to save their lives, besides injuring the goods they took with them; others have tried and cannot succeed. This dangerous spot has been known for years & yet the Association have not continued with the road, there it is begun & how we are all to get our goods over these mountains we cannot imagine. There is one cart & horse to let in this place at 10/-per day. Had the road been made, part of our difficulty might have been avoided; but I always said 'divide by 2 what you hear of Canterbury'; people are better in England, particularly if they can get a living. Tell E. Adams & the Tiffens that here there is no chance of their being able to rough a life of toil or to get anything to do likely to suit them...²

For women such as Mary Anne Bishop, who were not particularly enthusiastic about emigrating in the first

² Bishop, M.A. Journal of Mary Anne Bishop, p. 32.

place, the failures of the Association to provide emigrants with promised amenities must have caused considerable disappointment and a poor first impression of their future home. The reality of emigration and colonization did not, apparently, conform exactly to Wakefield's glowing descriptions. Mary Anne Bishop's journal illustrates that many of Wakefield's exaggerated claims about emigration and colonization did not reflect the reality of the experience. It is also apparent that Wakefield's statements about the importance of women to his scheme of colonization and the ability of women to make a contribution to the development of the colony did not necessarily reflect an accurate assessment of women's roles in the colonization process. These statements were, rather, part of the larger body of promotional material used by the Association to promote an idealistic scheme created by a man with a sincere desire to improve Britain's colonial policy, yet with no personal knowledge of emigration and colonization.

In general, Wakefield's writings reflect a very idealized and backward looking approach to emigration and colonization. The nostalgic image of a rural British village, removed from the social and economic upheavals which plagued Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, was the basis of the utopian scheme for a colony in Canterbury. The established socio-economic and sexual hierarchy, which had been altered and was increasingly threatened by economic and political developments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was romanticized by

Wakefield and included as the main social feature of his colonization scheme. Wakefield had never been a colonist himself and had never experienced the inherent physical and psychological difficulties which colonization in any remote and unsettled region involved. His ability, and perhaps his willingness, to present a realistic assessment of colonization was therefore, very limited. The ability of those members of the 'uneasy class' to accept his colonization scheme was largely measured by the degree to which they were willing and able to accept Wakefield's utopian notions as they were presented in the promotional literature of the Canterbury Association (of which he wrote a good portion). The written information available to potential Canterbury colonists represented a carefully edited account of the emigration and colonization process as it was imagined by Wakefield, or perhaps, as he imagined it needed to be presented in order to attract the 'higher order' of colonist to the scheme. It not only viewed the endeavour with unflagging optimism, it also completely avoided the less positive aspects which may have disturbed the image of Canterbury as the 'Belgravia of Colonies'. A realistic appraisal of emigration and colonization was not made in terms of the potential difficulties and the negative physical and psychological effects which were common among emigrants to other colonies. Therefore, while a certain number of discontented and, perhaps, nostalgic individuals of the 'uneasy classes' were able to believe in Wakefield's romantic dream of Canterbury as the 'Belgravia

of Colonies', this number was insufficient to generate the revenues necessary, not only for the promised churches and schools but also those needed to ensure the Association's survival.

The attempt to transplant a slice of British society to New Zealand required that the Wakefieldian scheme appeal to a group who had, heretofore, very little interest in emigrating. In particular, the scheme needed to appeal to men of the middle and upper classes who could afford to purchase land. Since these men were not among those of the British population most likely to emigrate, it was necessary that Wakefield present colonization in a very positive and appealing way. Since the gentleman of the 'uneasy class', to whom Wakefield's writings were directed, was very likely to have a wife and children, it was critical for Wakefield to address the issue of women and children as emigrants. Although he did not give the subject a great deal of attention in his writings, Wakefield must have recognized that the willingness of the middle and upper class wives to go to a colony was a factor in being able to attract the type of men who could afford to invest in the scheme.

Wakefield's discussion of women and their role in colonization is consistent with the idealized vision he presented of colonization in general. Just as the scheme was intended to assure males of the 'higher orders' that the established social order would not be disrupted, Wakefield, in his statements regarding women and their role

in colonization, assured these males that there would be no disruption in the established sexual hierarchy to which they were accustomed. In his writings, Wakefield's image of women, their role both in British and colonial society and their relationship to males was presented in a way which was intended to appeal specifically to males of the 'uneasy class' in the hope that they would see Canterbury as an alternative to life in Britain which would not threaten their dominant position within the social and sexual hierarchy.

Although Wakefield wrote that, "Women have a part so important in colonization that all depends on their participation in the work", it is difficult not to question Wakefield's interpretation of the word 'importance'. Wakefield's ideas about women's participation in the colonization process were very limited and only included those activities which conformed to conservative notions of the 'proper' female role, which was best expressed by Ruskin in his essay, "Of Queen's Gardens". All references by Wakefield to female emigrants related to their relationship with Wakefield's intended audience; the men of the 'uneasy classes'. Wakefield recognized the contribution of women only in terms of its usefulness to men. Women would either prevent men from pursuing 'dissolute habits' or help men as labourers. For those women of the middle and upper classes, their participation in the development of the colony was to consist only of those activities safely within their own 'sphere'. For those women of the labouring

class, their participation, according to Wakefield, did not merit any attention apart from the benefits it would provide to male emigrants. Therefore, Wakefield viewed women's role in emigration and colonization as being very narrow and restricted to traditionally 'inner sphere' activities. It does not appear that Wakefield's definition of the word 'importance' implied that women had any valuable role in and of themselves. According to Wakefield, the importance of female emigrants was strictly secondary, and limited to their ability to contribute, not directly to the well-being of the colony, but to the well-being of the male colonist.

Created by a male and administered by males, the Canterbury Association scheme was also created for males. This imbalance precluded any attempt to present information directly to women of any class. Neither Wakefield nor any members of the all male Canterbury Association left any evidence which suggests that they, at any time, considered females as individuals rather than appendages to a male colonist. Despite Wakefield's claims that 'women are more religious than men', and as concerned as Wakefield apparently was with the moral and religious qualities which middle and upper class women would bring to the colony, neither he, nor any members of the all-male Canterbury Association, (including many Anglican officials), sought any input from women on matters related to this religiously based colony. This general attitude to women and their 'proper' role in society precluded their inclusion, not

only in the actual decision making process involved in emigration, but in all decisions regarding Association policy which were to have a direct effect upon them.

Wakefield's expression of women's 'importance' in colonization, yet his failure to address women directly as emigrants, and to exclude women from any significant activity besides those related to male emigrants, suggests that Wakefield was either very little concerned with women as colonists and viewed them only as appendages to male colonists, or that he truly believed that women could make no other or better contribution to colonial life than socially proscribed 'proper' activities. While it is possible that Wakefield believed women to be incapable of making any positive contribution to colonization besides those centered around their domestic and religious interests, his own upbringing and the very positive role model which his grandmother provided, makes this unlikely. It is, perhaps, more likely that Wakefield was guided by expediency in terms of his statements about women and colonization. It is possible to speculate that Wakefield's interest in women and their role in colonization was limited to the degree to which these women were associated with the financial survival of the colony, (as the companions of those men who could afford to purchase land in the colony), and that his statements were designed with the interests of his male readers uppermost in his mind.

While it appears that many of 822 female passengers on Canterbury Association ships did conform to, at least some

of, Wakefield's and the Association's requirements, this information does not provide any real indication of the degree to which this group of women fulfilled the expectations held in regards to their ability to contribute to the social, moral and spiritual well being of the colony. Wakefield emphasized his belief that religious women were the best type of colonists, and also that married women were preferred to single women. By selecting women of middle and upper class status, and emphasizing the importance of their submissiveness and religious devoutness, Wakefield was specifically, although perhaps not consciously, targeting those women in British society most restrained from exercising independent behaviour. Whether from religious reasons or from societally imposed restrictions on appropriate behaviour, the women who Wakefield most wanted to play a part in the development of Canterbury, were those who were most restricted in their activities, and their ability to behave in new ways. Given the strong desire to retain the established socio-economic and sexual hierarchy in the colony, the readiness of these women to adapt to changed circumstances and to take on the challenges of colonization with the necessary enthusiasm and energy can be questioned.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to assess the spiritual and moral qualities of those women who left no record of their emigration experiences. What of their attitudes and level of enthusiasm for emigration and colonization? Although Wakefield never mentioned these

factors in relation to women, certainly, they were critical ingredients to successful colonization. Particularly for those women of the "upper ranks" to whom Wakefield and the Association looked to provide a model for civilized and christian behaviour among the rest of the emigrants. It is logical that at least some degree of enthusiasm and a sense of purpose, even if only from a sense of duty, was necessary in order that these women carry out their idealized role.

Again, it is not possible to answer such questions for the majority of these women. It is important to remember, however, that unlike some working class women in the steerage, who often had a greater degree of personal freedom, the overwhelming majority of women traveling in the cabin classes were traveling to Canterbury because of their relationship to a male, whether he be a husband, brother or father. Usually that male was also a passenger on the same ship. In other cases he may have already settled in the colony and was awaiting their arrival in Lyttelton. Regardless of the relationship, women traveling within the cabin classes were, almost without exception, traveling in order to maintain a relationship with a male. Given the strength of societal, and particularly religious, notions of duty to husband and family, a woman's decision to emigrate might have been much less a question of free will than of the need to maintain ties to her only acceptable source of economic support. Thus, it is possible that the level of enthusiasm for emigration and

colonization may have been lower among the middle and upper class women than it was among the women of the steerage. The great need to emigrate, perhaps in order to flee very poor conditions, was simply not something the large majority of cabin class women could understand. Their circumstances were very probably much less desperate than their steerage class counterparts, and thus, the benefits to be gained from emigration and colonization were, perhaps, much less clear. Without many, or perhaps any, acceptable alternatives available, the middle and upper class wife was left little choice but to emigrate if her husband insisted upon it. For those single women in the cabin classes, whether daughters or sisters of male emigrants, their opinions about emigrating may have counted for very little. Given this scenario, it is possible to state that at least some, and perhaps a good number, of the female cabin class passengers had little personal desire to emigrate. The potential results of this within the colony cannot be quantified. It is possible, however, to speculate that the enthusiasm and the energy which these women brought to the new colony was not as great as it might have been and that the ambition and drive necessary to carve out a successful existence in a new settlement may have been lacking.

The image of colonization which Wakefield hoped to create was backward looking and did not recognize the very great difference between life in Britain, particularly in urban Britain, and that of life in a distant and remote

colony. The idealized vision of the emigration process; the journey and the arrival at the ready made colony only awaiting its inhabitants, which had been drawn by Wakefield and the Canterbury Association, required only the civilizing influences of ideal women who were submissive, docile and religious. Had this vision materialized when the emigrants arrived on the shores of New Zealand, Wakefield's high estimation of the 'proper' female emigrant and the contributions she would make may have been supported. Unfortunately, the reality of emigration, despite the efforts by the Canterbury Association to create a 'proper' environment, both on board the ships and at Lyttelton, did not match these lofty dreams. Like any other colonization scheme the realities of a three or four month long sea voyage and the labour required to settle in an uncleared, swampy, windy and difficult-to-access area required more than submissiveness, docility and religious devotion on the part of the females who took part. For the colonists who only knew of Wakefield's wildly enthusiastic descriptions and the often exaggerated claims made by the Canterbury Association, the voyage to New Zealand on board the Canterbury Association ships was the beginning of the separation between the utopian dream created by a man who had never been a colonist himself, and the harsh realities of isolation and loneliness which required much more in the way of self-reliance and strength of resolve than the colonists were ever led to believe they would need.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I - The Canterbury Association Passenger Lists

Each of the 22 ships with existing passenger lists retains at least one passenger list out of five official lists that were to have been created both before and after the arrival in Canterbury. Two lists were made before each ship left England. The captain and the surgeon superintendent were each required to submit complete passenger lists to the pilot, who then sent them to their proper recipients; the captain's copy going to the shipping company and the surgeon superintendent's to the Canterbury Association office. Once the ship had landed at Lyttelton each of these men was required to hand in another copy directly to the Resident Agent of the settlement. Finally, an additional copy of the passenger list which had been completed by the surgeon superintendent before departure from England was sent on a later ship. Several of these lists remain for some of the ships while others have only one or two. For three of the Canterbury Association ships no passenger names remain but passenger numbers are available. The quality and quantity of information contained in the various lists also varies considerably. First and second cabin lists lack the detail of the steerage lists and often only the husband's name is listed, i.e., Mr. Smith, with his wife and children listed only as Mrs. Smith, Master and Miss Smith. No first names, ages,

occupations or any other details are included. Those lists containing the most information generally originated from the surgeon superintendent and listed the steerage class passengers, who appear to have been more forthcoming about their personal details. None of the lists include any information about the passenger's religious affiliation and only two of the 25 include any information on nationality.

Given this inconsistency of information, the lists are not ideally suited for the compilation of statistical information. Nevertheless, several general points may be investigated on the basis of those areas where relatively consistent information is available. Generally these official lists appear to be quite comprehensive in terms of accountability for passenger numbers. Nevertheless, a small number of women's names not found on the official passenger lists were discovered on other lists, such as those on the surgeon superintendent's hospital log (for receiving medical care and/or medication), on the chaplain's list of those passengers desirous of receiving holy communion, or on the lists of passengers requesting accommodation in the official Canterbury Association barracks once they reached Lyttelton. Undoubtedly, there are women who traveled on board Canterbury Association ships to Lyttelton whose names are lost and perhaps never were officially listed. This number, however, appears to be a very small one due to the wide variety of opportunities the Canterbury Association took to form as complete a passenger list for each ship as possible.

Appendix II - Geographic Origins of Female Passengers

One of the most basic questions about these women - Where did they come from? - is one which these lists cannot fully answer. Those passengers who originally purchased land in Canterbury (traveling in the cabin classes) were listed, along with the location of that land and their former residential address in Britain. Only seventeen women were among the original land purchasers in Canterbury and of these seventeen, only three came to Canterbury under the aegis of the Association. Unfortunately, the residential addresses of all other passengers, which were originally obtained by the Canterbury Association, have been lost, as were the original application forms for all passengers. Without these documents, or any later copies, it has been possible to piece together only a general idea of the geographic origins of female passengers.

The list of original land purchasers provides evidence that the majority resided in England. According to Straubel "the list of addresses of the first 144 land purchasers show they were fairly evenly scattered over the southern half of England. Fifty out of the 144 gave London addresses and appear to have been bona fide London residents." (Who Were the Canterbury Pilgrims? Straubel, 1950)

The likelihood that a majority of land purchasers resided in the southern regions of the country, and particularly in London, would be logical considering the geographical limits within which the Canterbury Association

marketed its scheme. Initial efforts of recruitment were all carried out in England and early land sales were transacted only in England. Primarily due to the location of the Association's base in London, the greatest emphasis in marketing the scheme was made in the London area and it appears that the those efforts were the most successful.

Only two of the 22 existing passenger lists contain information on "country of origin". However, because of uncertainty regarding the term 'origin', this data is not entirely reliable. Apparently, the information regarding an applicant's country of origin was copied from the original application forms onto the official Association passenger lists. The Association's passenger lists, unlike the original application forms did not specify if "origin" was to mean the intending colonist's country of birth or the country in which the applicant resided immediately prior to embarkation. Most relocations, particularly for young women moving from one situation to another, were relatively short-range, and it is probable that the country of origin listed was indeed both the country in which they had been born and in which they resided. However, due to the generally high level of mobility among young adults of the early Victorian era, it is possible that these two countries were, at times, not the same.

It is possible that the response among labourers mirrored that of the land-purchasers and that they were attracted chiefly from London and then, by and large, from

the southern regions of England. However, it is also possible that many prospective emigrants actually heard of the Canterbury settlement in ways not related to the Association's marketing efforts and were thus not confined within the geographic regions within which the Association limited its campaign.

On board the two ships whose passenger lists do include information on country of origin, the women on board appear to have been overwhelmingly English. On the *Isabella Hercus* (#6) 40 of the 44 women on board were listed as English, three listed as Welsh and one as Scottish. On the *Bangalore* (#11), of the 39 women aboard, 35 were listed as English and four as Scottish.

While it is apparent that the original land purchasers in Canterbury were primarily residents of London and Southern England, there is no evidence to suggest this might also have been true for the labourers. Although the message of a settlement planning to reproduce the hierarchical and elitist structure which existed in Britain was clearly not designed to appeal to the labouring class who were wanting to emigrate, the recruitment meetings held by the Canterbury Association in smaller rural towns and perhaps the knowledge of a local taking up the offer, would have led to increased awareness of Canterbury as a destination. It is possible that this sort of local 'talk' and the chain migration it would have led to were, in fact, the true means by which the majority of Canterbury Association passengers came to emigrate.

Appendix III - Text of Letter from Caroline Chisholm to
Sidney Herbert - 20 August 1850

My Dear Sir,

One of the Canterbury Committee have called upon me to day and I want to hear from you what course I had better pursue under circumstances. One thing is certain I will work for no sect, or party. The good of the whole is my object and I am sure you are the last person to revive the "test act" which the Canterbury people have attempted to do; their present position is this. They have money and influence, but not that influence that weighs with honest John Bull in his working dress. They are in fact at a stand still for common emigrants, they have expended L400 in circulars to the clergy who have done what they could but they cannot move the class they want. I said I had long since refused to work with the Catholic Society and I would not work with them if a sectarian selection was to be made, and suggested that they should in the same open principle as ours is conducted vote a sum to our Society for a loan. - His reply was " We have raised a sum of money for a particular purpose and we cannot do that" "Then let a few subscribe".

The offer was made to take a party from us just as they stood on our books, to make no stiff enquiry, - I really believe we have more good members of their church on the books of the Loan Society than they have themselves .

This move pleases me for it is desirable to extend the true principles of colonization and the more colonies the society aids the better, and a great blessing it is to see the true Samaritan principle of charity work its way; for as we are we are rich, because we try to follow the command of one who drew no sectarian line- Now it seems to me of greater importance than ever to get off our first ship - then I could make up a party for them if you think it prudent. I see no objection provided we select the people according to our own rules. I have no doubt I could soon fill a ship for them. Common working people they must have, it is the only chance they have to save the parties from ruin. I shall not speak of this matter to anyone - I wish you could get some person to speak to Miss Coutts on behalf of our society. We sadly require about L300 more to fill a good ship.

Yours Sincerely, Caroline Chisholm

The offer to me is Free or Loan passages if I will send them the people to fill their ships.

Appendix IV - Canterbury Association Female Passengers

Charlotte Jane(#1) Departed Plymouth 7 September 1850
 Arrived Lyttelton 16 December 1850

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Abraham, Maryann	39	Married	Steerage
Allen, Ann	43	Married	Steerage
Allfrey, Arabella	36	Married	Steerage
Allfrey, Maryann	19	Single	Steerage
Barker, Emma	30	Married	Chief
Bishop, MaryAnn	27	Single	Fore
Bishop, Emma	23	Single	Fore
Bishop, Ellen	30	Married	Fore
Bowen, Georgina	40	Married	Fore
Bowen, Anne	40	Single	Fore
Derry, Hannah	28	Married	Steerage
Dixon, Mary	33	Married	Fore
Doutch, Maria	21	Single	Steerage
Dowling, Virginia	26	Single	Steerage
Fawcett, Mary	29	Married	Steerage
Ferguson, Margaret	26	Single	Steerage
Fisher, Harriet	23	Single	Fore
Fitzgerald, Fanny	18	Married	Chief
Griffin, Mary	24	Married	Steerage
Grub, Mary	30	Single	Steerage
Haffenden, Ann	29	Single	Fore
Higham, Eliza	24	Married	Steerage
Hill, Ann	34	Married	Steerage
Hooper, Ann	16	Single	Fore
Horrell, Elizabeth	24	Married	Steerage
Hughes, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Jeffs, Elizabeth	25	Married	Steerage
Jeffs, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Kingdon, Sophia	18	Married	Fore
Lewis, Elizabeth	17	Single	Steerage
Marley, Mary	37	Married	Steerage
McCormick, Jane	37	Married	Steerage
Mountfort, Mary	21	Married	Chief
Mountfort, Emily	21	Married	Chief
Mountfort, Susannah	22	Single	Chief
Nepress, Louisa	22	Married	Steerage
Payton, Emma	24	Married	Steerage
Pursglove,	**	Married	Fore
Simpson, Harriet	27	Married	Steerage
Stout, Isabella	20	Married	Steerage
Taylor, Charlotte	39	Married	Steerage
Varyer, Jane	30	Married	Steerage

Randolph (#2)

Departed Plymouth 7 September 1850
Arrived Lyttelton 16 December 1850

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Bailey, Madelaine	29	Married	Steerage
Bayfield, Mrs.	**	Married	Fore
Bennington, Ann	32	Married	Steerage
Brown, Martha	37	Married	Steerage
Bryant, Ann	22	Married	Steerage
Campbell, Francis	36	Married	Steerage
Chaney, Emma	17	Single	Steerage
Chaney, Sarah	42	Married	Steerage
Coslins, Eliza	26	Married	Steerage
Cox, Louisa	24	Single	Steerage
Crouch, Cherry	22	Single	Steerage
Duncan, Mrs.	**	Married	Chief
Earle, Mrs.	**	Married	Chief
Fitch, Margaret	26	Single	Steerage
Fleming, Mrs.	**	Married	Chief
Free, Mary	30	Married	Steerage
Gosling, Lucy	30	Married	Steerage
Howard, Mrs.	**	Married	Fore
Laing, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Luxford, Jane	36	Single	Steerage
Luxford, Sarah	34	Married	Steerage
Harper, Elizabeth	22	Married	Steerage
Neil, Elizabeth	23	Single	Steerage
Orchard, Mary	25	Married	Steerage
Phillpot, Jane Lucy	29	Married	Steerage
Phillpot, Maria	32	Married	Steerage
Pleace, Hannah	23	Single	Steerage
Puckle, Mrs.	**	Married	Chief
Ransom, Miss	**	Single	Fore
Shepherd, Sarah	32	Married	Steerage
Smart, Amy	16	Single	Steerage
Smart, Sarah	39	Married	Steerage
Stanley, Mary	19	Single	Steerage
Soar, Sarah	38	Married	Steerage
Stoddard, Mrs.	**	Married	Chief
Stokes, Mary	15	Single	Steerage
Stokes, Sarah	35	Married	Steerage
Storer, Ann	29	Married	Steerage
Waghorn, Louisa	32	Married	Steerage
Wall, Sophia	21	Married	Steerage
Williams, Isabella	42	Married	Steerage
Williams, Margaret	21	Single	Steerage
Williams, Mrs.	34	Married	Chief
Willock, Mrs.	**	Married	Chief
Woodford, Ann	38	Married	Steerage

Cressy (#3)

 Departed Plymouth 7 September 1850
 Arrived Lyttelton 27 December 1850

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Allen, Mary	36	Married	Steerage
Allwright, Ann	32	Married	Steerage
Baker, Sarah	31	Married	Steerage
Bennett, Margaret	40	Married	Steerage
Childs, Fanny	30	Married	Steerage
Cleaver, Emma	30	Married	Steerage
Clifford, Maria	18	Single	Steerage
Dudley,	40	Married	Steerage
Duffell, Jane	31	Married	Steerage
Dunford, Elizabeth	34	Married	Steerage
Evans, Sarah	23	Married	Steerage
Ford, Mary	39	Married	Steerage
Ford, Emily	16	Single	Steerage
Ford, MaryAnn	18	Single	Steerage
Ford, Rebecca	14	Single	Steerage
Frost, Jane	22	Married	Steerage
Gale,	22	Married	Steerage
Halliday, Ellen	28	Married	Steerage
Hart, MaryAnn	34	Married	Steerage
Hewitt, Emma	19	Married	Steerage
Jones,	28	Married	Steerage
Kent, Mary	24	Married	Steerage
King, Martha	35	Single	Steerage
Mouldey, Eleanor	38	Married	Steerage
Oldfield, Harriet	35	Married	Steerage
Parish, Hannah	30	Married	Steerage
Patrick, Alice	30	Married	Steerage
Presley, Susannah	28	Married	Steerage
Quaife, Mary A.	33	Married	Steerage
Sharp, Ellen	23	Married	Steerage
Stace,	38	Married	Steerage
Townsend, Marcia	15	Single	Steerage
Townsend, Mary	28	Single	Steerage
Townsend, Pricilla	18	Single	Steerage
Townsend, Alicia	24	Single	Steerage
Townsend,	58	Married	Steerage
Townsend, Margaret	14	Single	Steerage
Watkins, Julia Maria	42	Married	Fore
Watkins, Laura	18	Single	Fore
Whitmore, Elizabeth	38	Married	Steerage
Willis, Elizabeth	24	Married	Steerage

Sir George Seymour (#4) Departed Plymouth 8 September 1850
Arrived Lyttelton 17 December 1850

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Anderson, Jane	29	Married	Steerage
Ashby, Eliza	26	Married	Steerage
Austen, Mary	33	Married	Steerage
Bevan, Harriet	28	Married	Steerage
Bradley, Hannah	26	Single	Steerage
Brittan, Louise	**	Married	Steerage
Caufield, Rebecca	20	Single	Steerage
Church, Esther	30	Married	Steerage
Clothier, Ann	27	Married	Steerage
Corlett, Jane	44	Married	Steerage
Corlett, Mary	20	Single	Steerage
Cresswell, Jemima	29	Married	Steerage
Dalton, Ann	23	Married	Steerage
Denton, Anna	**	Married	Steerage
Dilloway, Hannah	38	Married	Steerage
Durey, Elizabeth	48	Married	Steerage
Durey, Elizabeth	19	Single	Steerage
Fuich, Emma	15	Single	Steerage
Garlick, Sarah	19	Married	Steerage
Graham, Mary	19	Married	Steerage
Gumming, Matilda	**	Single	Steerage
Inwood, Mary	40	Married	Steerage
Ireland, Susannah	21	Single	Steerage
Jacobs, Emily	**	Married	Chief
Johnson, Hannah	22	Married	Steerage
Jones, Eleanor	20	Single	Steerage
Jones, Frances	25	Married	Steerage
Lewis, Ann	39	Married	Steerage
MacFarlane, Mary A.	**	Married	Steerage
Marks, MaryA.	**	Married	Steerage
Mills, Catherine	**	Single	Steerage
Milne, Catherine	25	Single	Steerage
Mums, Esther	41	Married	Steerage
Norman, Amelia	25	Married	Steerage
Philips, Mary A.	**	Married	Steerage
Rayworth, Elizabeth	27	Married	Steerage
Richards, Amelia	**	Married	Chief
Robinson, Isabella	**	Single	Fore
Rossiter, MaryAnn	**	Married	Steerage
Rotheray, Abigail	**	Single	Steerage
Russell, Elizabeth	**	Married	Chief
Salt, Hannah	31	Married	Steerage
Stubbs, Mary	30	Married	Steerage
Thacker, Elizabeth	30	Married	Steerage
Townsend, Elizabeth	32	Married	Steerage
Walker, Louisa	**	Married	Steerage
Washbourne, Mary E.	**	Married	Fore
White, MaryAnn	32	Married	Steerage
Wornell, Johannah	**	Single	Steerage
Wornell, Esther	29	Married	Steerage

Castle Eden (#5) Departed Plymouth 3 October 1850
 Arrived Lyttelton 7 February 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Beckingham, MaryAnn	20	Married	Steerage
Beechy, Harriet	**	Married	Steerage
Blackmore, Ann	27	Married	Steerage
Bowley, Elizabeth	**	Married	Fore
Bryan, Rebecca	26	Single	Steerage
Burrell, Eliza	34	Married	Steerage
Buxton, Martha	**	Married	Fore
Capel, Elizabeth	26	Married	Steerage
Claridge, Elizabeth	29	Married	Steerage
Coad, Mary	28	Married	Steerage
Collins, Sarah	24	Single	Fore
Corlett, Sarah	21	Single	Steerage
Davidson, Eleanor	**	Single	Steerage
Eaton, Mary	38	Married	Steerage
Fletcher, Hannah	**	Married	Fore
Gofrey, Ellen	25	Single	Steerage
Guildford, Ann	42	Married	Steerage
Hamlet, Lucy	31	Married	Steerage
Hare, Caroline	30	Married	Steerage
Jackson, Charlotte	33	Married	Steerage
Jackson,	**	Married	Chief
Johnson, Hannah	17	Married	Steerage
Kember, Esther	39	Married	Steerage
Kent, Rhoda	**	Married	Chief
Leslie, Charlotte	37	Married	Steerage
Lewis, Charlotte	27	Married	Steerage
Loader, Charlotte	38	Married	Steerage
Luke, Sophia	32	Married	Steerage
Luxton, Grace	35	Married	Steerage
Mason,	**	Married	Fore
McGregor, Isabella	**	Married	Steerage
Mountfort,	**	Married	Steerage
Mumford, Martha	30	Married	Steerage
Munday, Ann	30	Married	Steerage
Rouse, Amelia	27	Married	Steerage
Rumsay, Muriel	**	Married	Steerage
Ryder, Elizabeth	26	Single	Steerage
Scarrott, Elizabeth	23	Single	Steerage
Simpson, Anne	**	Single	Fore
Suggett, Elizabeth	34	Single	Steerage
Thurling, Muriel	21	Single	Steerage
Treleaven, Mary	37	Married	Steerage
Ware, Mary Ann	27	Married	Steerage
Wheeler, Elizabeth	33	Married	Steerage
Witney, Lucy	31	Married	Steerage
Wright, Eliza	37	Married	Steerage
Wright, Eliza	37	Married	Steerage

Isabella Hercus (#6) Departed Plymouth 24 October 1850
Arrived Lyttelton 1 March 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Ashby, Harriet	25	Married	Steerage
Ashley, Ann	27	Married	Steerage
Biffin, Lucy	22	Single	Steerage
Collins, Hannah	22	Married	Steerage
Corley, Ellen	23	Married	Steerage
Danby, Caroline	**	Married	Steerage
Demole,	**	Married	Chief
Duncan, Jane	25	Married	Steerage
Evans, Catherine	39	Single	Steerage
Evans, Margaret	14	Single	Steerage
Fairfield, Ann	25	Married	Steerage
Freckenham, Ann	28	Single	Steerage
Gould, Ann	22	Single	Steerage
Haggarty, Dinah	39	Single	Steerage
Heath,	**	Single	Chief
Hughes, Susan	28	Married	Steerage
Hurst, Ann	25	Married	Steerage
Hyter, Henrietta	**	Married	Fore
Johnson, Mary	30	Married	Steerage
Martin, Eliza	32	Married	Steerage
Mutton, Susannah	18	Married	Steerage
Nash, Charlotte	21	Married	Steerage
Nichols, Sarah	25	Married	Steerage
Owen, Martha	30	Married	Steerage
Percy, Hannah	**	Married	Fore
Playstead, Charity	14	Single	Steerage
Playstead, Isabella	16	Single	Steerage
Price, Emma	30	Single	Steerage
Roberts, Ann	39	Widowed	Steerage
Rutland, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Smeaton, Ann	31	Married	Steerage
Smith, Caroline	28	Single	Steerage
Solomon, Dorothea	23	Single	Steerage
Stephenson, Sarah	19	Single	Steerage
Stuart, Hannah	**	Married	Fore
Vickery, Mary	29	Married	Steerage
Walter, Lydia	35	Married	Steerage
Wegzell, Hannah	20	Married	Steerage
Wilcox, Eleanor	**	Married	Fore
Willis,	**	Married	Chief
Wilson,	**	Married	Chief
Wraight, MaryAnn	28	Married	Steerage

Travancore (#7) Departed London 2 December 1850
 Arrived Lyttelton 31 March 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Beck, Sarah	33	Married	Steerage
Burrdige,	**	Married	Steerage
Cardno, Christian	30	Single	Steerage
Clarke, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Cooper, Mary E.	31	Married	Steerage
Cordy, Eleanor	35	Married	Steerage
Cordy, Ellen	16	Single	Steerage
Donald, Jean	37	Married	Steerage
Garland, Mary	35	Married	Steerage
Gilbert, Elizabeth	31	Married	Steerage
Gilbert, Elizabeth	36	Married	Steerage
Griffiths, Eleanor	40	Married	Steerage
Griffiths, Mary	15	Single	Steerage
Hodge,	**	Married	Chief
Josling, Eleanor	28	Married	Steerage
Kiver, Jane	39	Married	Steerage
Merry, Catherine	36	Married	Steerage
Mitchell, Helen	50	Married	Steerage
Mitchell, Mary	23	Single	Steerage
Mitchell, Jean	17	Single	Steerage
Munn, Eliza	35	Married	Steerage
Newell, Sarah	16	Single	Steerage
Pallett, Hannah	20	Married	Steerage
Pearson, Harriet	21	Married	Steerage
Phillips, Harriet	34	Married	Steerage
Priest, Margaret	27	Married	Steerage
Shepherd, Elizabeth	32	Married	Steerage
Strang, Isabella	25	Married	Steerage
Suter, Agnes	18	Married	Steerage
Wakelin, Anne	30	Married	Steerage
White, Adeline	22	Married	Steerage
Wilkin, Georgina	30	Married	Steerage
Woodford, Jane	36	Married	Steerage
Woodford, Emily	15	Single	Steerage

Duke of Bronte (#8) Departed London 8 January 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 6 June 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Baines, Hannah	32	Married	Steerage
Baker, Emma	37	Married	Steerage
Bray, Harriet	**	Married	Chief
Bullions, Janet	38	Married	Steerage
Bullions, Henrietta	18	Single	Steerage
Delaney, Charlotte	20	Married	Steerage
Everest, MaryAnn	25	Married	Steerage
Fenwick, Rachael	30	Married	Steerage
Gibbs, Betsey	32	Married	Steerage
Holmes, Eliza	23	Single	Steerage
Hudson, Charlotte	39	Married	Steerage
Long, Elizabeth	41	Married	Steerage
Magee, Maria	38	Married	Steerage
Magee, Ann	16	Single	Steerage
Magee, Catherine	18	Single	Steerage
Mallam, Elizabeth	30	Married	Fore
Nash, Rosetta	28	Married	Steerage
Prior, Mary	25	Married	Steerage
Rogers, Frances	23	Married	Steerage
Roots, MaryAnn	25	Married	Steerage
Salt, Sophia	43	Married	Fore
Saville, Jane	30	Married	Steerage
Smith, Rachael	36	Married	Steerage
Symes, Anne	36	Married	Steerage
Turner, Ellen	27	Married	Steerage
Tuson, Sarah	**	Married	Chief
Wadsley, Mary	23	Married	Steerage
White, Clarissa	**	Married	Chief
Wilmshurst,	**	Single	Chief

Steadfast (#9) Departed London 25 February 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 9 June 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Boyer, Elizabeth	34	Married	Steerage
Bryan, Elizabeth	25	Married	Steerage
Combes, Helen	24	Married	Steerage
Craig, Maria	42	Single	Fore
Davidson, Jane	24	Single	Steerage
Drake, Mary	19	Single	Steerage
Dysant, Charlotte	**	Single	Chief
Fawcett, Jane	21	Married	Steerage
Fooks, Catherine	**	Married	Chief
Frewer, Maria	25	Married	Steerage
Fummell, Charlotte	24	Married	Steerage
Gundry, Isabella	**	Married	Fore
Harris, MaryAnne	39	Married	Steerage
Harris, Anne	19	Single	Steerage
Harris, Sarah	17	Single	Steerage
Iles, Eliza	32	Married	Steerage
Miller, Elizabeth	30	Single	Steerage
Moore, Anne	32	Married	Steerage
Packard, Anna	36	Married	Fore
Small, Martha	42	Married	Steerage
Smith, Jane	44	Married	Steerage
Smith, Jane	20	Single	Steerage
Smith, Clarisse	17	Single	Steerage
Smith, Elizabeth	15	Single	Steerage
Spillard, Elizabeth	27	Married	Steerage
Streeter, Rezia	40	Married	Steerage
Streeter, Rezia	17	Single	Steerage
Vines, Ann	30	Married	Steerage
Wallace, Jane	24	Married	Steerage
Waller, Elizabeth	30	Married	Steerage
Waller, MaryAnn	25	Single	Steerage
Wright, MaryAnn	25	Married	Steerage

Labuan (#10)

 Departed London 8 April 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 14 September 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Best, Hannah	33	Married	Steerage
Blackbee, Sarah	48	Married	Steerage
Blackbee, Susannah	16	Single	Steerage
Blackbee, Eliza	14	Single	Steerage
Broadhurst, Harriet	40	Married	Steerage
Carew, Frances	36	Married	Fore
Chapman, Sarah	41	Married	Fore
Chapman, Alice	17	Single	Fore
Chapman, Mary	18	Single	Fore
Clarkson, Esther	23	Married	Steerage
Dickinson, MaryAnn	23	Married	Steerage
Dodds, Sophia	28	Married	Steerage
Dudley, Agnes Jane	38	Married	Chief
Dudley, Ellen	30	Married	Chief
Duncan, Margaret	22	Married	Steerage
Edmondson, Margaret	17	Single	Steerage
Eveleigh, Alice	17	Single	Steerage
Finnimore, Elizabeth	27	Married	Fore
Gaskill, Sarah	35	Married	Steerage
Greaves, Maria	38	Married	Chief
Harris, Mary	29	Married	Steerage
Harrison, Anna	26	Married	Steerage
Hetherington, Ruth	58	Single	Fore
Hodgson, Grace	50	Widowed	Fore
Jones, Mary	24	Single	Steerage
Jones, Mary	**	Married	Fore
Laine, Julia	24	Married	Fore
Maclaren, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Murray, Frances	38	Married	Chief
Picking, Ann	20	Single	Steerage
Rees, Susan	30	Married	Steerage
Searle, Susan	19	Single	Steerage
Smith, Elizabeth	24	Married	Steerage
Smith, Sophie	31	Married	Steerage
Smith, Ann	27	Single	Steerage
Stewart, Isabella	23	Married	Steerage
Wedge, Mary A.	25	Married	Fore

Bangalore (#11) - Departed London 9 May 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 21 August 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Anderson, Ellen	22	Single	Steerage
Barnett, Winifred	30	Married	Steerage
Belford, Charlotte	25	Married	Fore
Booth, Jesse	26	Married	Steerage
Bowron, MaryAnn	48	Married	Fore
Bowron, Louisa	20	Single	Fore
Bowron, Sarah	18	Single	Fore
Bowron, Harriet	16	Single	Fore
Buck, Maria	30	Married	Fore
Christy, Margaret	45	Married	Steerage
Collins, Isabella	38	Married	Steerage
Collins, Selina	36	Married	Steerage
Cone, Caroline	36	Married	Steerage
Coster, Susannnnah	28	Married	Steerage
Coster, Merriam	49	Married	Steerage
Coster, Ann	20	Single	Steerage
Coster, Mary	25	Single	Steerage
Coster, Ruth	18	Single	Steerage
Coster, Esther	15	Single	Steerage
Coutts, Isabella	18	Single	Steerage
Crouch, Eliza	33	Married	Steerage
Goosetree, Sarah	21	Married	Steerage
Hamilton, Sarah	38	Married	Steerage
Hamilton, Sarah	16	Single	Steerage
Harrison, Mary	32	Married	Steerage
Jackson, Eliza	44	Widowed	Steerage
Jackson, Harriet	30	Married	Steerage
Jackson, Harriet	21	Married	Steerage
Loader, Caroline	25	Married	Steerage
Martin, Fanny	23	Married	Steerage
Moore, Theresa	44	Married	Steerage
Paterson, Elizabeth	22	Single	Steerage
Scratton, Mary	39	Married	Steerage
Sherratt, Jane	30	Married	Steerage
Tribe, Jane	25	Married	Chief
Tyler, MaryAnn	27	Married	Steerage
Walker, Elizabeth	34	Married	Steerage
White, MaryAnn	40	Married	Steerage
Young, Jane	27	Married	Steerage

Dominion (#12) Departed London 8 May 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 28 August 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Balmer, Emma	26	Married	Steerage
Bonstead, Elizabeth	30	Single	Steerage
Cookson,	20	Married	Chief
Davis, Selina	39	Married	Steerage
Ellis, Fanny	14	Single	Steerage
Fisher, Eliabeth	41	Married	Steerage
Fisher, Ellen	15	Single	Steerage
Godfrey, Rosetta	38	Married	Steerage
Godfrey, Ellen	15	Single	Steerage
Hanson, Anne	**	Single	Fore
Harrison, Mary	30	Single	Fore
Heulcup, Frances	42	Married	Steerage
Heulcup, Margaret	13	Single	Steerage
Jagger, Jane	29	Married	Steerage
Jeffrey, Anne	**	Single	Steerage
Jeffries, Mary	**	Single	Steerage
Johnston, Susan	22	Single	Steerage
Mathias, MaryAnn	40	Married	Chief
Millar, Isabella	34	Married	Steerage
Miller, Elizabeth	25	Single	Steerage
Moore, Mary	27	Married	Steerage
Palmer, Emma	36	Married	Steerage
Reader, Harriet	30	Married	Steerage
Richardson, Mary	44	Married	Chief
Richardson, Fanny	15	Single	Chief
Roberts, MaryAnn	24	Single	Steerage
Rusell, Sarah	14	Single	Steerage
Russell, Sarah	38	Married	Steerage
Russell, Ann	18	Single	Steerage
Shreeve, MaryAnn	26	Married	Steerage
Smith, Jane	22	Single	Steerage
Stephen, Ann	31	Single	Fore
Stokes, Eliza	25	Single	Chief
Sturmer, Martha	31	Married	Steerage
Talbot, Anne	48	Widowed	Steerage
Thomas, Ann	38	Single	Steerage
Wyatt, Elizabeth	24	Married	Steerage

Lady Nugent (#13) Departed London 25 May 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 18 September 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Allott, Mary	30	Married	Steerage
Ansell, MaryAnn	41	Married	Steerage
Ansell, Sarah	14	Single	Steerage
Anson, Anne	35	Married	Steerage
Aylmer, Elizabeth	42	Married	Chief
Aylmer, Selina	17	Single	Chief
Burgess, Charlotte	33	Married	Steerage
Catermole, Mary	32	Married	Steerage
Coxhead, Ann	36	Married	Steerage
Creasy, Sarah	35	Married	Fore
Edgeworth, Caroline	19	Single	Steerage
Elms, MaryAnn	40	Married	Steerage
Farmer, Bridget	30	Single	Steerage
Farmer, Mary	**	Single	Steerage
Haggard, Susan	**	Single	Chief
Hedgeman, MaryAnn	24	Single	Steerage
Hedgeman, Eliza	18	Single	Steerage
Hedgeman, Emily	20	Single	Steerage
Hedgman, MaryAnn	44	Married	Steerage
Inwood, Frances	32	Married	Steerage
Laking,	39	Single	Fore
Laking, Ann	15	Single	Fore
Mackay,	30	Single	Fore
March, Sarah	14	Single	Steerage
Marsh, Louisa	29	Married	Steerage
McHardie, Jean	36	Married	Steerage
Morgan, Sarah	31	Married	Steerage
Moss, Eliza	32	Married	Steerage
Pannett, Eliza	35	Married	Steerage
Smith, Susannah	36	Married	Steerage
Spittall, Ellen	25	Single	Steerage
Stace, Elizabeth	42	Married	Steerage
Stace, Mary	21	Single	Steerage
Stace, Eliza	15	Single	Steerage
Stace, Sibon	19	Single	Steerage
Ward, Ann	31	Married	Steerage

Duke of Portland (#14) Departed Plymouth 18 June 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 26 September 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Bailey, Sarah	30	Married	Steerage
Barclay, Barbara	30	Married	Steerage
Barclay,	**	Married	Steerage
Bloor, Mary	28	Married	Steerage
Bodie, E.	29	Single	Chief
Chambers, MaryAnn	19	Single	Steerage
Coppell, MaryAnn	**	Married	Steerage
Goodwin, Lucy	34	Married	Steerage
Grace, Catherine	33	Married	Steerage
Hall, Mary	40	Married	Steerage
Harris, Jane	**	Married	Steerage
Hopsack, Agnes	25	Married	Steerage
Lander,	19	Married	Fore
Lomas, Eliza	21	Married	Steerage
Lunchall, Ann	22	Married	Steerage
Mackay, Ann	16	Single	Steerage
Mackay, Jane	16	Single	Steerage
Mackay, Barbara	46	Married	Steerage
Main, Jane	42	Married	Steerage
Main, Jane	30	Married	Steerage
Marks, Hannah	27	Married	Steerage
McKenzie, Augustus	19	Single	Steerage
McKenzie, Charlotte	17	Single	Steerage
Meddings, Harriet	29	Married	Steerage
Neale, Mary	39	Married	Steerage
Palmer, Eliza	35	Married	Fore
Palmer, Eliza	19	Single	Fore
Perry, Elizabeth	20	Married	Steerage
Satchell, Fanny	21	Married	Steerage
Savage, Martha	40	Married	Steerage
Thomas, Matilda	30	Married	Steerage
Thompson, Frances	39	Married	Steerage
Wheeler, Ann	38	Married	Steerage
White,	23	Married	Fore
Wood, Urusula	25	Single	Steerage
Wood, Nancy	18	Single	Steerage
Wood, Catherine	15	Single	Steerage
Wood, Eliza	45	Married	Steerage
Young, Isabella	27	Married	Steerage
Youngman, Hannah	26	Single	Steerage

Midlothian (#15) Departed Plymouth 21 June 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 8 October 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Baterbee, Eliza	29	Married	Steerage
Bathhurst, Frances	23	Single	Steerage
Beetson, Maria	41	Married	Fore
Beetson, Maria	15	Single	Fore
Betts, Susanna	33	Married	Steerage
Bond, MaryAnn	24	Married	Steerage
Brown,	30	Married	Chief
Bryan, Ann	36	Married	Steerage
Back,	35	Married	Chief
Butcher, Mary	21	Married	Steerage
Cox, Alice	37	Married	Steerage
Cox, Sarah	15	Single	Steerage
Dorsett, Sarah	37	Married	Steerage
Fowler,	**	Married	Steerage
Gallop, Charlotte	32	Married	Steerage
Gallop, Susan	15	Single	Steerage
Goodwin, Mary	34	Married	Steerage
Hart, Frances	47	Married	Steerage
Highstead, Mary	26	Married	Steerage
Hills, Maria	37	Married	Steerage
Irwin, Eliabeth	30	Single	Fore
Irwin, Maria	13	Single	Fore
Jones, Elizabeth	**	Single	Fore
Kissel, Magdaline	29	Married	Steerage
Laws,	22	Single	Chief
Paul,	43	Married	Chief
Paul, Harriet	18	Single	Chief
Paul, Rose Ann	17	Single	Chief
Paul, Margaret	22	Single	Chief
Paul, Fanny	16	Single	Chief
Porter, Emma	14	Single	Steerage
Roche,	20	Single	Chief
Rose,	31	Married	Chief
Sourison, Ann	25	Single	Fore
Stanford, Emma	32	Single	Fore
Taylor, Margaret	17	Single	Steerage
Tisch, Christianna	32	Married	Steerage
Westenra,	40	Married	Chief
Westenra, Isabella	20	Single	Chief
Westenra, Fanny	15	Single	Chief

Canterbury (#16) Departed London 18 June 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 21 October 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Andrews,	**	Single	Chief
Biffin, Emma	24	Single	Steerage
Blackler, Harriet	31	Married	Steerage
Dean, Hannah	28	Married	Steerage
Dyer, MaryAnn	26	Single	Fore
Evans, Sarah	48	Single	Steerage
Everest, Elizabeth	29	Married	Steerage
Evon, Caroline	24	Married	Steerage
Farland, Mary	34	Married	Steerage
Field, E.	45	Married	Steerage
Field, Jane	24	Single	Steerage
Fitton, Elizabeth	39	Married	Steerage
Fitzwater, Ann	36	Married	Steerage
Forster, MaryAnn	31	Married	Steerage
Gibbs, Rachael	33	Married	Steerage
Kendal, Elizabeth	40	Married	Steerage
Lervo, U.	60	Married	Chief
Lomas, Elizabeth	29	Married	Steerage
Lyckett, Ann	15	Single	Steerage
Lyckett, Elizabeth	14	Single	Steerage
Marsh, Mary	40	Married	Steerage
Marsh, Kezie	16	Single	Steerage
Metcalf, Harriet	24	Married	Steerage
Mitchell, Sarah	27	Married	Steerage
Simeon,	**	Married	Chief
Sonman, Sarah	30	Married	Steerage
Spillsbury, Ann	36	Married	Steerage
Vigers, Ann	34	Married	Chief
Vincent, Elizabeth	39	Married	Steerage
Warden, Harriet	23	Single	Steerage
Winsett, Mary	36	Married	Steerage
Winsett, Elizabeth	14	Single	Steerage
Withers, Mary	42	Single	Steerage
Woodman, Elizabeth	30	Married	Steerage
Wright, Sarah	31	Single	Steerage

Sir George Pollock (#17) Departed London 15 July 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 10 November 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Bell, Ann	23	Single	Steerage
Cotterill,	**	Married	Chief
Cowie, Jane	21	Single	Steerage
Davey, Ann	38	Single	Steerage
Ffitch, Emma	38	Married	Fore
Ford, Sarah	35	Married	Steerage
Frances, Jane	28	Single	Steerage
Gee, Eleanor	44	Married	Steerage
Gee, Ellen	17	Single	Steerage
Graham, MaryAnn	32	Married	Steerage
Graham, Margaret	15	Single	Steerage
Green, Susan	34	Married	Steerage
Harper, Maria	21	Married	Steerage
Hunter, Margaret	28	Married	Steerage
Jackson, A.	**	Widowed	Steerage
Jarrett, Martha	32	Married	Steerage
Kerr, Margaret	27	Married	Steerage
Law,	**	Single	Chief
Liberty,	**	Single	Chief
Marshall, Anne	30	Married	Steerage
Moore,	**	Married	Chief
Moore, Elizabeth	20	Single	Chief
Moore, Elizabeth	33	Married	Steerage
Pettiford, Sarah	26	Married	Steerage
Rawnsley, Isabella	33	Married	Steerage
Robson, Margaret	25	Single	Steerage
Rummery, Charlotte	28	Single	Steerage
Townsend, Ellen	29	Married	Steerage
Wakefield,	**	Single	Chief
Ward, Mary	22	Married	Steerage
Ward, Eliza	31	Married	Steerage
Ward, Mary	34	Married	Steerage
Ward, Mary	28	Married	Steerage
Wilson, Ann	31	Married	Steerage
Wood, Charlotte	47	Widowed	Fore

Cornwall(#18)

Departed London 12 August 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 8 December 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Bennett, Harriet	17	Single	Steerage
Cummings, Maria	32	Married	Steerage
Dillon, Eleanor	33	Married	Steerage
Edwards, Sarah	34	Married	Fore
Fleming, Elizabeth	27	Married	Steerage
Foulkes, Ann	**	Married	Chief
Genet, Sarah	**	Married	Steerage
Green, H.	40	Widowed	Fore
Gregory, Ann	25	Single	Steerage
Harris,	40	Married	Fore
Lowry, Catherine	18	Single	Steerage
Mawson, Eleanor	33	Married	Steerage
Meddings, Hannah	27	Married	Steerage
Milbee, Letitia	**	Single	Chief
Perkins, Margaret	28	Single	Fore
Pirie, Jean	**	Married	Steerage
Popplewell, Susannah	26	Married	Steerage
Preston, Elizabeth	26	Married	Steerage
Russ, Mary	30	Married	Fore
Russell, Cordelia	20	Single	Steerage
Squire, Eliza	26	Married	Fore
Stevens, Selina	18	Married	Steerage
Wagg, Eleanor	43	Married	Steerage
Welsh,	22	Single	Fore
Whitman, Alice	32	Single	Fore
Wing, Naomi	28	Single	Fore
Worsley, Caroline	**	Married	Chief
Young, Jane	**	Single	Steerage

Fatima (#19)

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Anderson,	**	Married	Steerage
Mahoney, Catherine	**	Single	Steerage
Raymond,	**	Married	Steerage
Walker, Sarah	**	Married	Steerage
Watson,	**	Married	Steerage
Wheeler,	**	Married	Steerage

William Hyde(#20) Departed Plymouth 24 October 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 5 February 1852

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Applewaite,	18	Married	Chief
Berridge, Ann	36	Married	Fore
Bradley, Hannah	35	Married	Steerage
Brittan, Sophia	45	Married	Chief
Broughton,	37	Married	Fore
Broughton, Eliza	15	Single	Fore
Brown, Elizabeth	26	Married	Steerage
Brundell, MaryAnn	21	Married	Steerage
Brunsdon,	23	Married	Fore
Curtis,	25	Single	Chief
Durant, MaryAnn	24	Single	Steerage
Felton, Jane	25	Married	Steerage
Fookes, Ann	47	Married	Chief
Fookes, Louisa	20	Single	Chief
Fookes, Mary	14	Single	Chief
Grieve, Elizabeth	72	Married	Fore
Hawksley,	37	Married	Fore
Hollis,	25	Married	Fore
Lloyd, Lydia	35	Married	Steerage
Mayo, MaryAnn	25	Married	Steerage
Mayo, Cecily	17	Single	Steerage
McNeilly, Mary	**	Single	Chief
Radcliffe, c.	22	Single	Fore
Thomas, C.E.	29	Married	Fore
White, Elizabeth	25	Married	Steerage
Williamson, Sarah	44	Married	Steerage
Willis, Elizabeth	26	Married	Steerage
Wright, Elizabeth	48	Married	Fore

Stag (#21)

Departed Plymouth 4 January 1851
 Arrived Lyttelton 17 May 1851

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Bartrum,	**	Married	Steerage
Birtles, Elizabeth	33	Married	Steerage
Birtles, Mary	33	Married	Steerage
Bowler,	**	Single	Fore
Bowles, Matilda	**	Single	Fore
Brown, Mary	14	Single	Steerage
Chew,	**	Single	Fore
Daly, MaryAnn	21	Single	Steerage
Donald,	**	Married	Steerage
Eaton,	**	Married	Fore
Eaton, MaryAnne	26	Married	Steerage
Fitzmaurice,	**	Married	Fore
Hayman, Sarah	23	Married	Steerage
Hollingshead,	**	Married	Chief
Humphries, Sarah	27	Single	Steerage
Iggulden, Caroline	34	Married	Steerage
Mames,	**	Married	Fore
Marston,	**	Single	Fore
Martin,	**	Married	Chief
Mathews,	**	Single	Chief
Mathews,	**	Single	Chief
McBradney, Sarah	21	Married	Steerage
Meal, MaryAnn	25	Single	Steerage
Miller, Phoebe	36	Married	Steerage
Nichols,	**	Married	Chief
Puckle,	**	Married	Chief
Rae,	**	Married	Steerage
Soulby,	**	Married	Chief
Taylor, Anne	29	Married	Steerage
Wright, Sarah	35	Married	Steerage

Samarang (#22) Departed London 24 March 1852
 Arrived Lyttelton 31 July 1852

Name	Age	Status	Passage
Bathurst, Phoebe	38	Widowed	Steerage
Bathurst, Caroline	17	Single	Steerage
Brooke, Mary	**	Married	Chief
Brown, MaryAnn	26	Married	Fore
Bryant, Jemima	31	Married	Steerage
Cloud, Jane	28	Married	Steerage
Devine, Elizabeth	19	Married	Steerage
Foulger, MaryAnn	26	Married	Fore
Frost, Hannah	22	Married	Steerage
Godall, Sarah	29	Married	Fore
Harrington, Marianne	24	Married	Steerage
Harrington, Anna	18	Single	Steerage
Harrington, Sarah	26	Single	Steerage
Harrison, Sarah	17	Single	Steerage
Hichens, Grace	53	Married	Fore
Hichens, Elizabeth	27	Single	Fore
Hichens, Mary	24	Single	Fore
Hichens, Jane	22	Single	Fore
Hichens, Grace	18	Single	Fore
Hichens, Emma	15	Single	Fore
Hunt, Ann E.	37	Married	Steerage
Nelson, Jane	39	Married	Steerage
Nelson, Ellen	15	Single	Steerage
Phillis, Eliza	24	Married	Steerage
Shoulder, Harriet	18	Single	Steerage
Turner, Caroline	25	Married	Steerage
Wigglesworth, Elizabeth	48	Single	Fore
Wilkinson, Ellen	13	Single	Steerage
Wright, Elizabeth	20	Married	Steerage
Wright, Louisa	20	Married	Fore